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ARCHÆOLOGICAL SECTION.

TRANSACTIONS,
EXCURSIONS, AND REPORT,

For the Year 1896.

VOL. XXII.

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ARCHÆOLOGICAL SECTION.

TRANSACTIONS, EXCURSIONS, AND REPORT.

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*A Study of Church Towers with Special Reference to those of Somerset.**

BY PROFESSOR F. J. ALLEN, M.A., M.D.

29th January, 1896.

MY attention was drawn to this subject by the profusion of fine towers with which I met in my native county Somerset. I made it my duty to take systematic photographic studies of them, and incidentally my interest has been attracted to towers elsewhere.

I confess to being no historian. It gives me little pleasure to search for evidence in ancient documents. The historical aspect of the subject must be left to others, while I provide material to aid their research. My collection is intended as a contribution to the National Photographic Survey, which was initiated in Birmingham (for the County of Warwick) and has been followed up by certain societies and individuals in other parts of the country.

The most elementary form of tower consists of a block of building, with little or no ornament, and capped with a simple house-roof or "saddle-back." Such towers were built at all times, but especially in the Norman period. They are found all over England, and are monotonously frequent in the north of France.

A slight advance on the saddle-back is the pyramid roof. The pyramid in some form or other seems to have been the usual termination of towers during the greater part of the golden age of architecture; but these pyramids have been substituted by featureless flat roofs in later times. The pyramid was often octagonal: and whether octagonal or square, by exaggeration of its height it becomes a spire.

A considerable number of towers built before the Norman conquest are still extant. They are mostly situated in the northern counties; but the midland and southern

*Modified from a paper read before the Archæological Section on Jan. 29th, 1896. At the meeting many lantern photographs were shown, illustrating towers of various parts of England and the Continent.

counties contain a few. In Warwickshire the lower portion of the tower at Wootton Wawen is of this period; in Gloucestershire the tower at Deerhurst; in Northamptonshire the towers at Earl's Barton, Barnack, and other places. As an instance I give a photograph of the tower of St. Benet's Church, Cambridge, which shows the chief characteristics of the period. It may be seen that (1) the tower has no buttresses, (2) top-heaviness is prevented by making each stage narrower than the one below it, (3) the quoins are formed of alternating flat and columnar stones, commonly known as

ST. BENET'S, CAMBRIDGE.—(Fig. 1.)

"long and short work," and (4) the chief windows are formed of two lights separated by a baluster which has been turned in a lathe. The tower probably had a pyramid roof at first, for which the present lead covering is a very unworthy substitute. The style of these towers is quite peculiar to England; that is to say, it is but distantly related to the Romanesque style which was developing simultaneously on the Continent. Prof. Baldwin Brown suggests that it originated from the rudimentary architecture introduced by the early missionaries from Ireland. The range of time occupied by this style has been much debated. Probably it extended from the 8th to the 10th century, after which it gradually gave way to the Romanesque style, which had become established in England before the Conquest. These pre-Conquest towers are

often of pleasing design: their builders had already discovered certain of the secrets of success in the design of a tower, one of which is to make the upper part narrower than the base, and another is to accumulate the ornament towards the top.

England has many towers of the Romanesque or so-called "Norman" period. The finest of them are at Southwell Minster, Tewkesbury Abbey, and Bury St. Edmunds. Southwell Minster is the only English church with *three* Norman towers, and one of the few instances in which pyramid roofs may still be seen. These pyramids are only recently added; but they take the place of similar ones which were removed so lately as the beginning of the present century. They have added much to the poetry and dignity of the Church; and it is much to be desired that some suitable raised roof should be added also to the central tower, instead of the contemptible 19th century parapet and pinnacles. A stone pyramid roof exists at Penmon Priory Church, Anglesey. Very picturesque pyramid roofs may be seen on the towers of the Rhineland; for instance at Andernach and Coblenz, and especially at the beautiful cathedral of Limburg on the Lahn.

The Early English and Decorated periods (1200 to 1375 A.D.) produced very few towers without spires: in fact the 13th and 14th centuries constitute the age of stone spires. Among the exceptions are the towers of Lincoln Cathedral, which formerly had wooden spires, but are now covered with flat roofs. A more thorough exception is the central tower of Wells Cathedral, which, though practically completed in the Decorated period, seems to have had a low roof from the first.

SOMERTON.—(Fig. 2.)

Round and octagonal towers have been built in all periods from the Norman onwards. They are however less frequent by far than square towers. Octagonal towers are rather numerous in Somerset: they belong mostly to the Early English period, but their pyramid roof or spire has in many instances been replaced by a Perpendicular top. Such towers present the same outline from all points of view: more variety is obtained when a stair turret is added, as at Somerton (Fig. 2).

One of the features which characterized the development of the Perpendicular style was a tendency to finish the towers with a flat roof. It is possible that builders had awakened to the monotony of the spire outline, and therefore sought to develop a variety of forms wherewith to cap their towers, and also to devise details other than outlines to give character and "expression" to each individual tower. Hence in the Perpendicular period (about 1350 to 1600 A.D.) were built all our noblest towers. The art of tower-building reached its acme in Somerset, where noble towers can be counted in hundreds. These towers have been studied by many architects and archæologists, and several attempts have been made to classify them. This is a difficult matter on account of frequent cross-relationships: it would be more profitable to trace their evolution,—a task which I hope to facilitate by means of systematic photographs.

SHEPTON MALLET.—(Fig 3.)

To do justice to these towers would require an extensive treatise, therefore for the purposes of the present paper I must confine my attention to a very few select types.

One of the earlest towers is that of Shepton Mallet (Figs. 3 and 4), belonging apparently to the beginning of the Perpendicular period, say about A.D. 1375. It was built in fact just when spires were going out of fashion; and the builder, having begun the spire, did not finish it but capped it with a pyramidal roof, which is much more quaint and distinctive. This tower having been intended to bear the stress of a spire, its walls are thick, the windows deep, and the buttresses of bold projection and ingenious design. These features give to the tower greater depth and relief,—light and shade,—than is usual. Both these views of the tower were obtained from the top windows of houses I was allowed through personal acquaintance to enter the penetralia of houses where a stranger would have been refused. In the pursuit of this tower-study I have mounted to much more extraordinary places; for instance, erecting the camera on the tops of chimneys, or placing its legs (secured by string) astride the

SHEPTON MALLET.—(Fig. 4.)

ridge of a roof. The view across the Market Place (Fig. 4) is a thing of the past, for the advance of civilization has led to the destruction of the picturesque buildings in the mid-distance. The old inn has given place to a gaudy gin-shop of red brick with

white dressings; and instead of the old Market House rises a huge "Technical School," a veritable white elephant, blocking the tower out of view, and symbolizing the eclipse of religion by science.

The type of the Shepton Mallet tower is repeated with various modifications in many places, the design changing by degrees until the latest specimens show no evident relationship to the prototype beyond the fact of having three windows abreast

BANWELL.—(Fig. 5.)

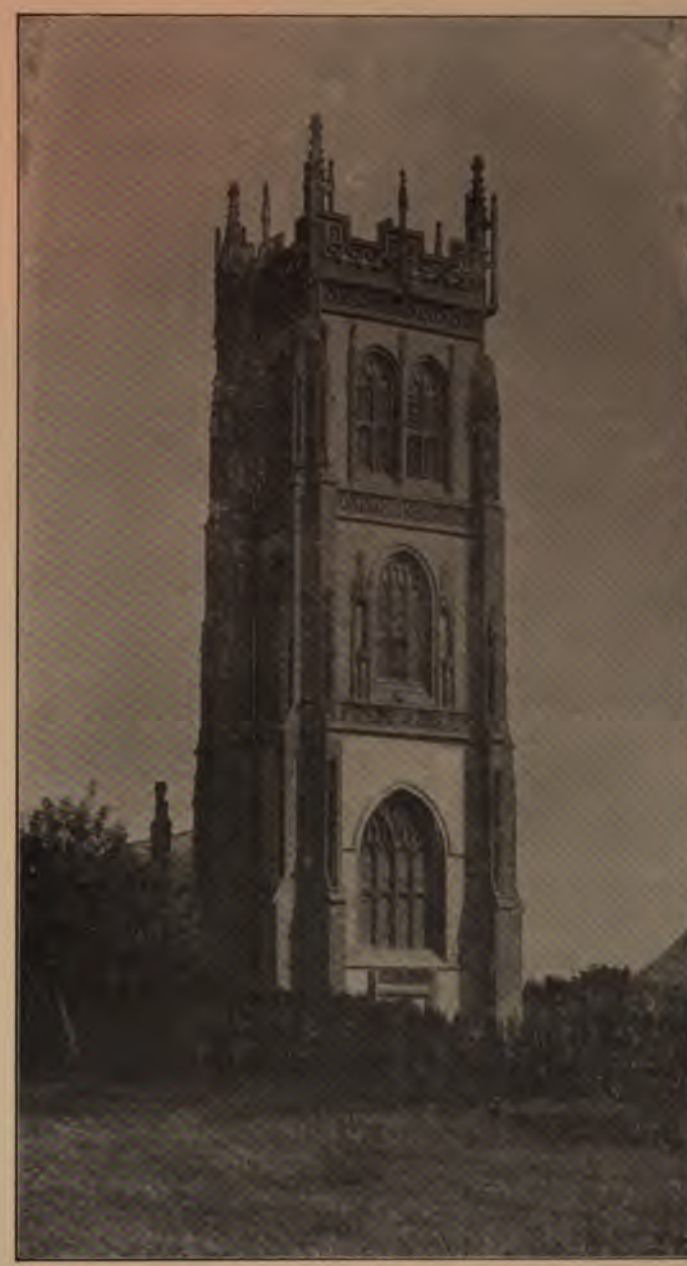
on each side. The tower at Banwell (Fig. 5) shows one of the slighter modifications, and contains every essential feature of its parent, the principal change consisting in attenuation: indeed the attenuation of the buttresses is carried to excess.

The next group consists of towers having two very tall windows abreast on each side, and four equal pinnacles instead of the three pinnacles and a stair turret which characterize the type seen in Figs. 3, 4, and 5. The earliest of the group seems to be

the S.W. tower of Wells Cathedral, built by Bishop Harewell (1366—1386). The N.W. tower was built to match it by Bishop Bubwith (1407—1424). The noblest specimen is that of St. Cuthbert's, Wells (built circ. 1420), which has received more adulation than any tower, not only in Somerset, but in England. I refrain from giving an illustration of it, preferring to select less familiar instances. The tower of Wrington has been placed second in favour by critics; but it does not appeal very strongly to me, on account of a certain hardness of outline and largeness of detail. A

EVERCREECH.—(Fig. 6.)

very similar tower is that of Evercreech (Fig. 6), which has all the features of Wrington in a softened mood. The gradation of outline and of surface is here perfect; the only drawback being that such a design requires a strong light to throw its details into relief. Here I would emphasize the great importance of choice of light in photographing towers. Before attempting to photograph any building, it is well to visit it at leisure, and by observing its orientation to calculate at what hour of the day the light will fall at the most suitable angle on the building. This often means a sacrifice of time, and sometimes the expense of an extra journey, or an extra day's hotel bill; but it is the only way to produce a valuable photograph. The views sold in shops are rarely taken at the right hour: it would never *pay* to be so particular. But though the professional photographer may work for profit, the amateur must work for love.



HUISH EPISCOPI.—(Fig 7.)

A very late and divergent development of the type with two tall windows abreast may be seen in the tower of St. John's, Glastonbury. It is a very striking tower, but too well known to claim an illustration in the limited space at my disposal in these pages.

Perhaps the most brilliant of the Somerset towers is that of Huish Episcopi (Fig. 7). It is rich both in outline and in detail; and its brilliancy is enhanced by contrast of colour, for the body of the walls is built of blue lias and the dressings of brown oölite. Critics have pointed out that the builder apparently forgot the proper function of pinnacles—as the terminations of buttresses; but his results are so good that we can forgive the error. Several towers modified from the Huish Episcopi type may be seen in the neighbourhood of Taunton.

There are various other types and many individual designs in the county, which I cannot even refer to in the present paper. From them all I choose but one, the tower at Ilminster (Fig. 8) because it is in strong contrast to those already described.

ILMINSTER.—(Fig. 8.)

It should be noted that this tower, although so rich in ornament, has much less *design* than the others. The typical Somerset towers have a physiognomy,—a kind of facial expression; whereas this one has instead an almost uniformly ornamented surface.

The influence of the Somerset tower-builders spread not only into the adjacent counties, but also into distant parts of the country. The towers of Gloucester Cathedral and the church at Wrexham are of Somerset character; so is that of Merton College, Oxford; and the tower of Magdalen College, although it diverges further from the ancestral types, has very much of the physiognomy of a Somerset tower.

Old Warwickshire Coins, Tokens, and Medals.

By W. J. DAVIS.

26th February, 1896.

THE subject of Numismatology has such extensive ramifications, that it would be impossible to treat it at large within the limits of a paper. Its range extends to almost pre-historic antiquity; for by its aid peoples and kings which were before unknown to the historian have been discovered, and doubts as to identity and origin set at rest. Manners and customs, religious observances, and many other features in the life of ancient peoples, are revealed to us in their coins and medals. No wonder that the study has its enthusiastic devotees, who marvel at the indifference of the many, and think that even antiquaries do not give it the attention which it deserves.

I have to deal with part of the subject only—that which belongs to the County in which we live. Fortunately, the part thus selected has a special and peculiar interest—for this audience at least—on account of the important share which Birmingham has had in the modern development of our national coinage.

Warwickshire has had three Royal Mints, and two which supplied Royal coins by contract. The three were ancient, and were at Tamworth, Warwick, and Coventry. The two were modern, and were at Boulton and Watts', and at Heaton and Sons', now the "Mint, Birmingham, Limited." Thus we go a long way into the past, and come down to almost yesterday. It will be of interest to trace our earliest efforts first.

Our county was included in Mercia, which was the central kingdom of what is called the Saxon Heptarchy. Kingsbury is said to have been the royal seat, but we

shall look in vain for any evidence of Warwickshire coinage until after the several kingdoms had become one. Yet Offa, king of Mercia, whose reign extended from A.D. 757 to 796—over 38 years—had a coinage remarkable for excellence in design and execution. He had visited Rome during the pontificate of Adrian I., and been so impressed with the beauty of the currency there that he brought back with him Italian artists, who afterwards produced the finest specimens of die-engraving to be found in all Anglo-Saxon times. With Offa's death this too-brief reign of Art seemed to come to an end, and his son Edgar, who succeeded him, must have dismissed the foreigners, for there was a sudden relapse into the barbarous style of former days.

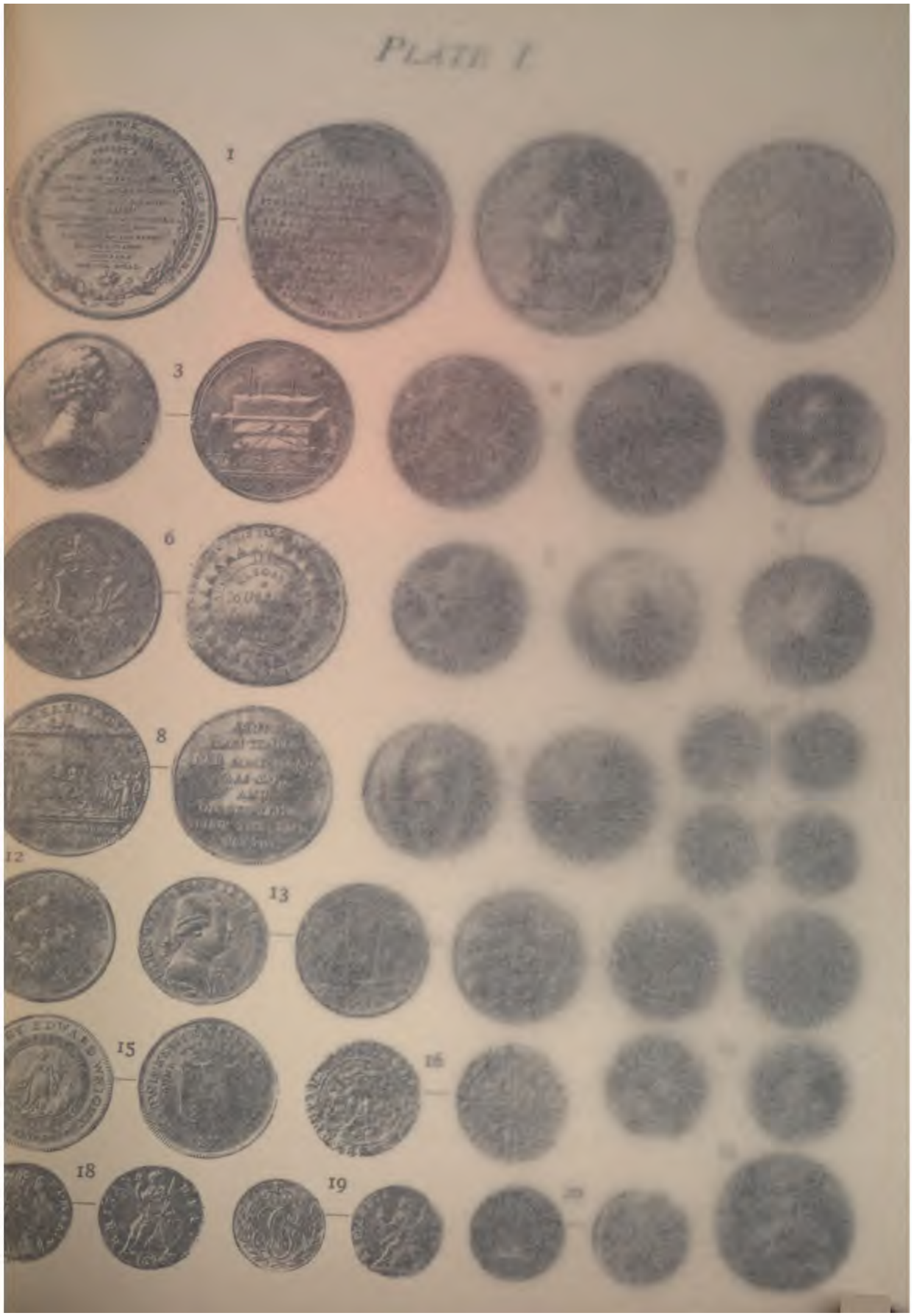
Long after the Heptarchy had been dissolved, and when Athelstan, in 925, ascended the throne of the whole kingdom, he decreed that "there should be one kind of money throughout the realm, and that no one should coin but in a town." Previous to this decree, it seems to have been the custom, according to Selden, for any lord to coin moneys, when and where he pleased. It may be remarked in passing, that legislation in those days went very deep down into the people's manners and customs. In the reign of another Edgar, who was fourth in succession from Athelstan, it was enacted, "That pegs be fixed in drinking cups and all who drank deeper than the mark should suffer the penalty of the law." Athelstan's was probably the first enactment regulating coinage; and Edgar's may be regarded as the first *Veto* measure, so that temperance reformers of this day are advocating no new principle.

Not until the reign of the Edgar who was sole monarch of all England do we find a piece that can be confidently ascribed to the county. Then appears a silver penny, date A.D. 958, which reads "Tomei" (Tamworth). During the Danish dynasty, Canute minted coins at "Weric" (Warwick), as also did his son Hardicanute. Canute vigorously punished coiners who had no authority to issue. He compelled all his subjects to accept the coinage, "except it were false"; and if false the evil-doer suffered the penalty of losing the hand which produced the counterfeit. This offence could not be condoned by compensation of gold or silver.

Edward the Confessor had Mints at Tamworth and Warwick; Harold the First at Warwick; and Harold II.—the last of the Saxon kings—in his short reign of nine months also used the Warwick Mint. Thus Warwickshire coinage is traced to Anglo-Saxon times.

The battle of Hastings had its effect upon the coinage. In his efforts to convince the English that he regarded them as his natural subjects, William the Conqueror included in his policy the improvement of the currency; and of this Ruding says:—"Of all these arts none was perhaps more effectual than the manner in which he "conducted the coinage of his new kingdom; for as the produce of his Mints was "perpetually passing before their eyes, it was most obvious to them to remark that no "innovation had been made in a point so essential to their welfare." In the list of his numerous Mints we find Tamworth and Warwick. William seems to have given a plentiful supply of coins, but there was but one denomination—that of the *penny*.

PLATE I.



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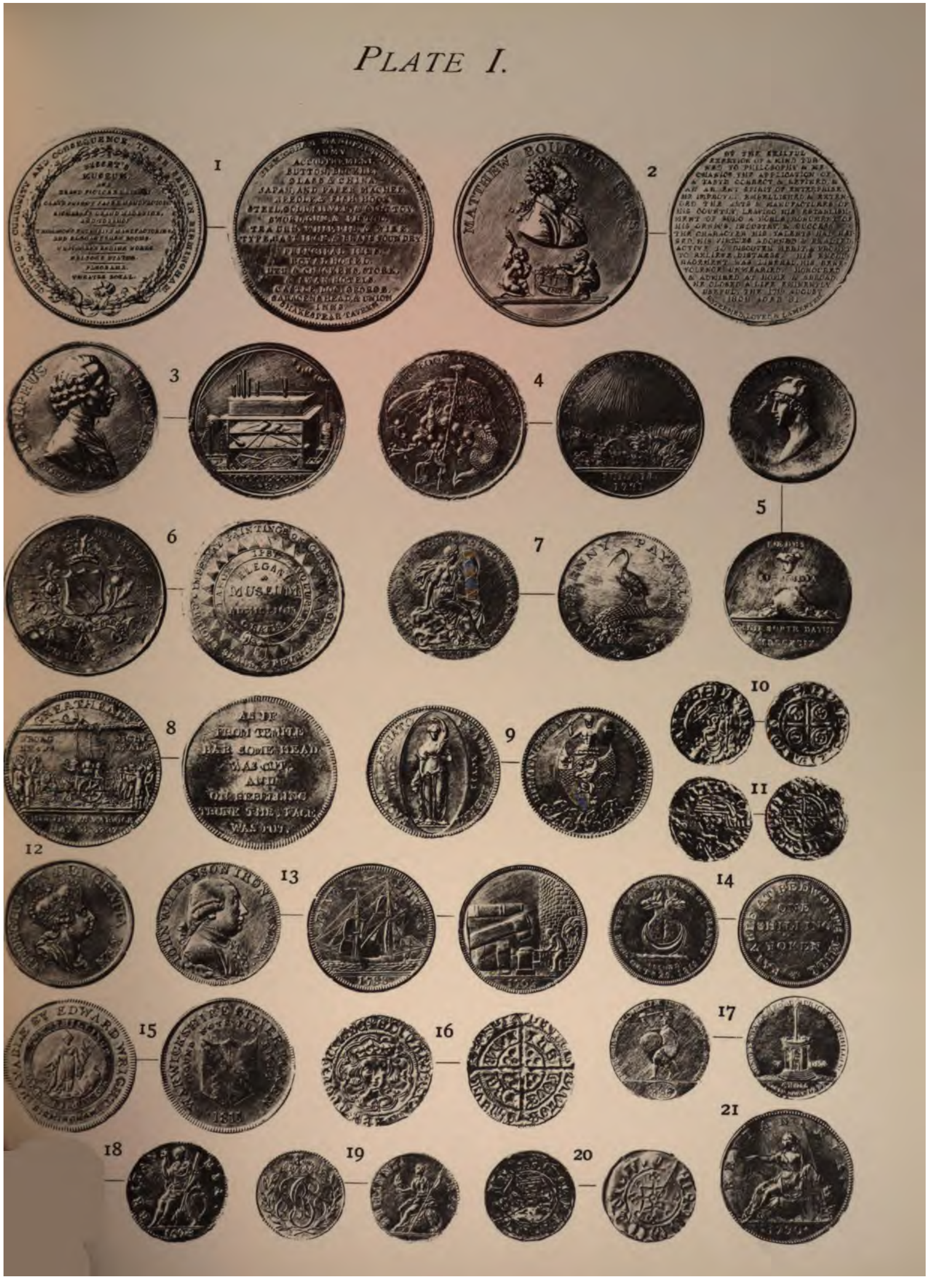

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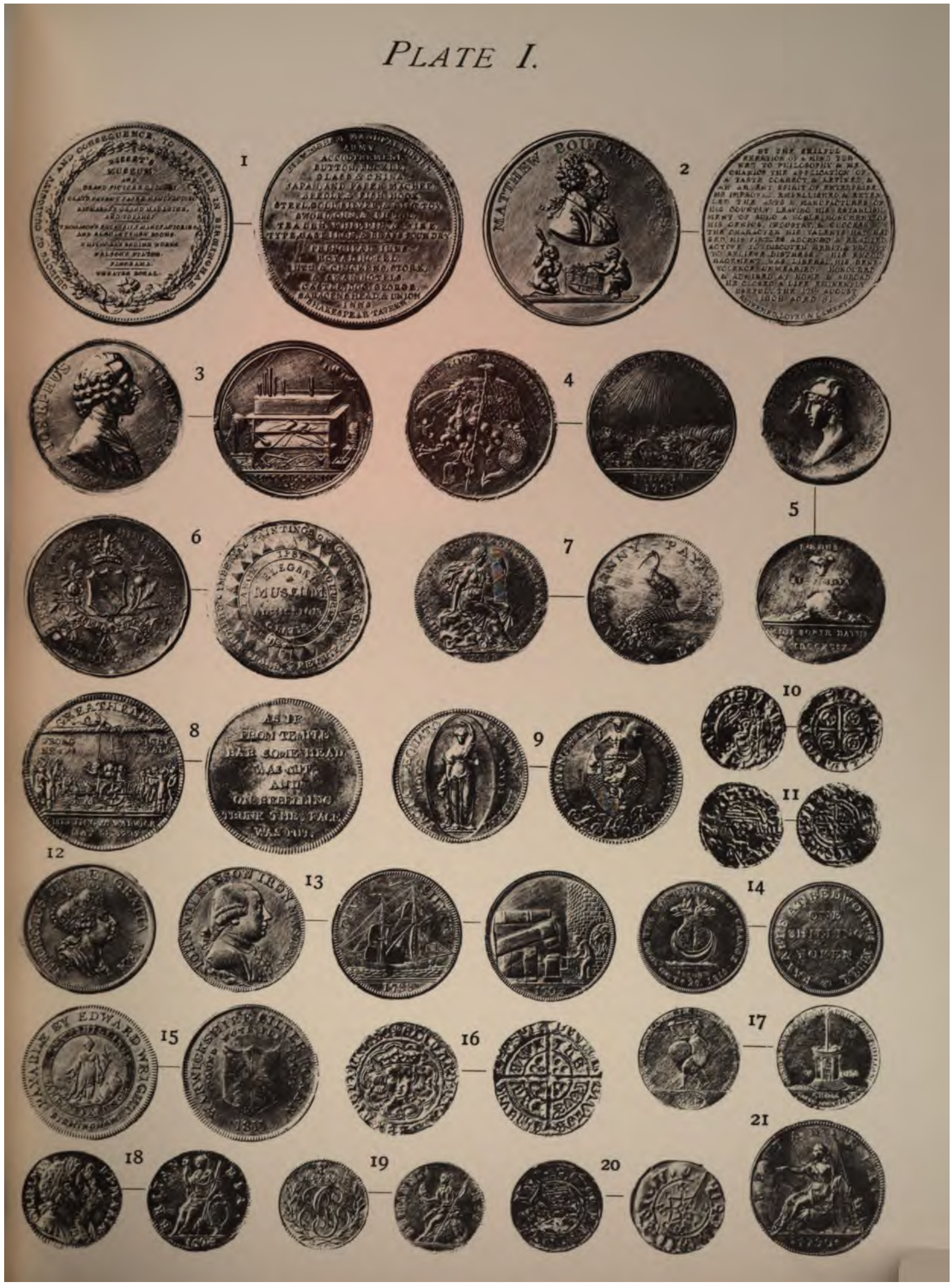


This was of silver, and its purchasing power was equal to about 13s. of the present value of money. So that when we hear of the good old days when a sheep could be purchased for a penny, it must be remembered that a penny in those days was no mean measure of value. It is said, but on no good authority, that the penny was often divided into halves, or even quarters, for the purposes of small change; and even if correct it is yet uncertain whether these divisions were made at the Mints. The pennies were of three distinct types, known as the "Bonnet," the "Canopy," and the "Pax;" and were until 1703 all very rare. In this year 250 pennies of William I. and II. were found in an oak box during the excavations after a terrible fire, which destroyed many houses in "Ouse-gate," York. A "find" of great importance also occurred on the 30th June, 1833; at the Manor-house Farm, Beaworth, Hampshire. Four boys, under 10 years of age, were playing at marbles on some pasture land called the "Old Litten." One of the children put his hand into the track of a waggon-wheel, and pulled out a number of coins. The other boys followed his example. This was, it must be remembered, when such coins bore about the same proportion in size to the then current Boulton penny as that did to a cart-wheel. The boys thought they had found old buttons, and scattered them about; but a villager, who knew better, searched for and found more. The owner of the land claimed them, and in all 6000 were found. They were in Mint state, all of William I. and II.; and were afterwards sold, the proceeds being given, partly to local charities, and partly as rewards to the finders. Among them were pennies of Warwickshire Mintage.

One of these pennies, of the "Pax" type, which emanated from the Mint of your County town, is here submitted for inspection.

It bears on the—

O. Full faced bust of the king, holding sceptre to right. Leg. "Pillemie Rex."

R. In an inner circle—a Cross. In the angles four letters—P. A. X. S. In the outer circle—"Edrill on Perpic." Weight 21½ grains. (Plate I. No. 10.)

This piece may with some degree of certainty be ascribed to William II., as Edrill was a moneyer of that king.

Canopy, Type of William 1st, Tamworth Mint (Plate I. No. 11).
Bonnet Type, „ „ Warwick „ (Plate I. No. 20).

Henry I. was the last king who coined money at Tamworth. During Stephen's time many of the nobles coined their own money, and debased it. Although this usurper issued a currency, none was minted in Warwickshire; nor was there any in the time of Hen. II., who succeeded him. Richard I. had only 3 Mints:—Carlisle, Rochester, and Warwick; and he was the last to use the Warwick Mint, which was conducted in the Free School, or College—so called.

We have now a long chasm; and it is remarkable that from the death of Richard I.. 1199, to Edward IV., 1461—a period of 262 years, through which 9 kings had reigned—no other coins were minted in Warwickshire. This is the more noteworthy, because in the heart of the county, to the south of Coventry, was Cheylesmore—once

the seat of the great Leofric, and afterwards granted to the Earls of Chester, who built its ancient castle. After passing through many noble families, it became a royal domain, and in Edward III.'s time was settled on the Black Prince, under the name of the "Manor of Cheylesmore." There is no castle now, nor anything to indicate its ancient glories; it is simply the name of a locality.

Nor did Edward IV. rehabilitate the old Mints of Warwick and Tamworth, but set up a new one at Coventry, which in the 15th century was an important city, famous for its "devilish" and "unlearned" Parliaments, which assembled in the Chapter House; the former so called from the number of its attainders, and the latter from the exclusion of the lawyers. The coins issued at Coventry were a gold noble, half noble, and a silver groat, as here described :—

NOBLE.

(O.) The King in armour crowned, and standing in a ship, with sword in his right hand and in his left a shield charged with the arms of France and England. At stern a flag, bearing the King's initial E., and on the side of the ship a full-blown rose. Legend, "Edward D. Gra. Rex. Angl. Z. France." Above the sails "D N S. IB." (Edward by the grace of God, King of England and France; Lord of Ireland). In the waves "C" for Coventry.

(R.) A beaded tressure of eight curves with trefoils in the angles. In the centre a rose, around a sun of sixteen rays. Fleur-de-lis over them, and a lion under each quarter M.M. Sun. Legend "I C H. A V T. TEANSIENS PER MEDIVM ILLORVM IBAT." (But Jesus, passing through the midst of them, went his way. Luke ix., 30.)

HALF NOBLE.

(O.) Similar to last, but Leg.: "Edward Di Gra Angl Z Fran." Trefoil after each word, and two after Di and Rex.

(R.) Similar to last, but Leg.: "Domine Ne In Furore Tvo Argvs Me." Trefoil after each word, and two after Tvo and Argvs.

GROAT.

(O.) "Edward Di Gra Rex Angl Z Franc." M. mark—a sun, and a "C" on the breast.

(R.) Posvi. Deum Adivtorem Mev. (I have made God my helper). Civitas Covetre M. Mark—a sun. (Plate I. No. 16.)

(O.) Similar, but "A. B." on the breast, and four dots crosswise on each side of the neck.

A sun was the badge of the King.

Ruding pays a great compliment to the eminent Warwickshire antiquary and numismatist, Thomas Sharp, who afterwards compiled the famous catalogue of coins and tokens for that prince of token collectors, Sir George Chetwynd, of Grendon Hall, Atherstone. He writes :—"That able antiquary, Mr. Sharp, of Coventry, in a letter

"dated 1806, says that he had not discovered a trace of this Mint in his numerous "researches into the Corporation books and MSS., nor in any other documents "whatever; and in fact, says he, but for the existence of the coins, we should here be "utterly ignorant that Coventry ever possessed the privilege of coining. All hope of "further information must therefore be abandoned; for who can expect to find that "which escaped his acuteness and persevering research?" The Mint, however, undoubtedly existed, for we have "Civitus Covetrie" engraved on the coins; and an order by the King, dated September 16, 1465, to one Hugh Bryce, "to take upon him "the occupation of his Mints and Exchanges;" and in this decree Coventry is specially mentioned. Ruding surmises that the minting was done at Cheylesmore, which, as has been stated, was a royal domain, but not within the Coventry jurisdiction; "and this," he says, "will sufficiently account for the silence of the "Corporation records with respect to this Mint." Leland says "there was a "Parliament and a Mint of coinage at Coventrye;" and Hawkins, as late as 1864, in dealing with this subject, stated, "There is, however, a tradition that the public-house "now known as the 'Golden Cross,' at the north-west corner of Hay Lane, was the site "of the Mint." This is far too conjectural to remove or to shake Ruding's authority for Cheylesmore; which must rest until some undoubted proof fixes a different *locale*.

COPPER COINAGE.

Warwickshire was not until nearly the close of the last century so fortunate as to have a share in the *Copper* coinage. Indeed, but for Boulton, it might never have had the honour and credit of such an enterprise. To understand and bring into sequence the productions of the Soho Mint, a short review of the national small-change-coinage may be necessary. It will extend the range of the subject, but will illustrate and simplify it.

The copper coinage takes its rise from Queen Elizabeth. Recognizing that such a currency was required, she directed patterns to be struck of a half-groat, a penny (called the pledge of a penny) (Plate II. No. 25), and a farthing, all dated 1601. Two of these patterns bore a full-blown rose, with the motto "Rosa Sina Spina" (a rose without a thorn). James I. issued *tokens* of farthings and half-farthings, known as Harringtons; of which there will be more to be said later on. (Plate II. Nos. 18 and 19). Charles I. followed this example, and tokens were issued in large numbers. During the Commonwealth a few patterns were struck in copper and *silver*, bearing the mottoes:—"Farthing tokens of England"—"For necessary change"—"Truth and Peace"—"Thus united invincible"—"God is our Sun and Shield"—"Our foundation is a rocke"—"¼ ounce of fine Pewter"—"The Commons' Peticion"—"The poore's relefe"—"Such God loves"—"Pitty the poore"—"The farthing tokens of the Commonwealth of England," &c. Cromwell, when he became Protector, followed in the same unsatisfactory manner. We have his bust and mottoes:—"Oliver. Pro. Eng. Sc. Irl."—"Thus united invincible"—"Charitie and Change"—"Convenient change."

When Charles II. had been on the throne for 12 years, and after many patterns had been submitted, the actual copper coinage of England commenced. The design

selected was appropriate; and part of it—the figure of Britannia—remains to this day.

It was:—

O. The King's bust to left, laurated, and in Roman armour. Leg. "Carolvs "A. Carolo."

R. The figure of Britannia, robed, reclining on shield charged with the arms of St. George and St. Andrew. In her left hand a spear, and in her right a palm branch. Leg. "Britannia 1672."

It was the first representation of that figure on an English coin; and Montague thinks it was "an imitation of a similar figure on some Roman pieces; notably on those "of Hadrian and Antonius Pius, and the well-known medallion of Commodus." There was also a farthing similar in type. (Plate II. No. 26) A proclamation dated August 16, 1672, was issued by the King, making these coins a legal tender, but only to the value of sixpence. It was this decree that finally put an end to the manufacture of tradesmen's tokens during the 17th century; a subject to be dealt with later on.

The nearest pattern (which was rejected) to the adopted halfpenny of Charles II. is known as the "Qvator. Maria. Vindico type. It will be seen by the *specimens on the table* that the selected and the rejected were both of the same design; but as the legend interpreted, "I claim the four seas," appears to have been too much for Louis XIV. of France, it was altered to simply "Britannia" and the date. *Tin* farthings were also circulated to some small extent in this reign.

James II. issued a similar currency, but in tin, with a copper plug in the centre. This was done for profit, as one Thomas Neal and others, by patent, supplied this money at the rate of one pound weight for 1s. 8d.; giving 40 per cent. gain to the King. (*See specimens.*) William and Mary commenced their small-change currency in tin, with both their busts side by side; Britannia occupying the reverse. Subsequently, in 1694, Copper was substituted, and an unlimited supply of halfpennies and farthings was issued. (Plate I. No. 18) William III., after the death of his Queen, continued to issue halfpence and farthings with his bust on only. An unpublished farthing of 1696 in tin is here *submitted for inspection.* (Plate II. No. 24). Queen Anne during her 12 years' reign issued no copper currency, but a few halfpence and farthings were struck as patterns. All are rare; those in gold and silver especially so. George I. also issued halfpence and farthings of similar type:—

(O.) Bust of King, laurated, and in armour. Leg. "Geurgivs Rex."

(R.) Britannia, seated, holding a spear and laurel branch, with the Union Jack beside her; surrounded with a broad graining.

Some of these coins were smaller than others, and called "dumps," as there were 56 instead of 42 to the pound avoirdupois. The dies of Anne's patterns and these pieces were engraved by John Croker, engraver to the Mint. George II. had a first and second copper coinage, known as the "new head" and "old head" issues; the first being the work of Croker, and the latter that of Tanner, who in 1740 became chief engraver to the Mint. In 1730 a singular blunder occurred by the omission of the

PLATE II

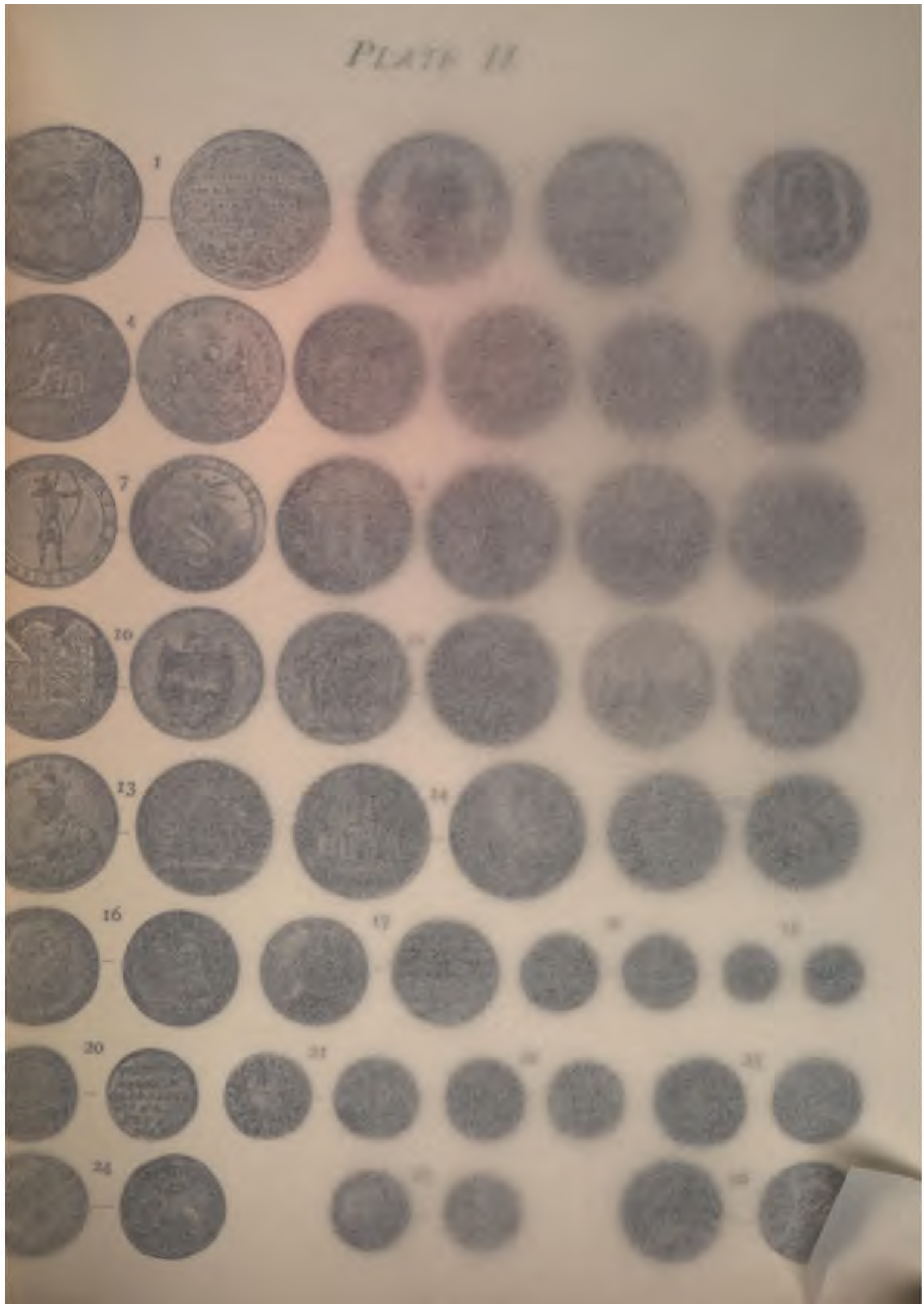


PLATE II.

1
BRITONS BEHOLD
THE BARD OF FREEDOM
PLAIN & BOLD
WHO SINGS AS DRUIDS
SUNG OF OLD
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
CLOTHES
&
YORK SHOE
WAREHOUSE
WHOLESALE
&
RETAILE
1796
12
TOKEN
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
HIS
HALF
PENY
22
23
1799
24
25
26

letter " R " in the King's name. These pieces were suppressed. George III. had four issues :—those of 1770-1775 ; 1797 ; 1799 ; and 1806-7. The first consisted of halfpenny and farthing, similar to those of preceding monarchs. In 1772 the second " G " was omitted, and it is said that a reward was offered for the recall of the defective pieces. *(See specimens.)* Tanner was again the engraver. We now for the moment get back to Warwickshire.

The second issue is of great importance, as it included the only twopenny piece (called the " cart wheel ") ever issued by Royal warrant. The design and work was by Küchler, and *they were struck at the Soho Mint.*

(O.) Bust of the King, laurated, and robed. Under the shoulder " K. " Leg. " Georgius III. D.G. Rex." on a broad rim in incuse letters.

(R.) Britannia seated on a rock, a trident in her left hand, and in her right an olive branch. At her side a shield, bearing the crowns of St. George and St. Andrew, with heraldic tints. " Soho " in the waves beneath the figure, and a ship in the distance. Leg., on a broad rim, in incuse letters:—" Britannia, 1797. "

The penny of 1797 was very similar to it. The halfpenny and farthing were for some unexplained reason never circulated except as patterns. (Plate II., No. 16). The third issue was a halfpenny and farthing ; the broad rim, with its sunken letters, being discontinued.

Halfpenny :

(O.) Bust of King, laurated, and robed. " K " under the shoulder. Leg :— " Georgius III. Dei Gratia Rex. "

(R.) Britannia, as before described, but with " Soho " under the shield. Leg. :— " Britannia, 1799. "

Farthing :

(O.) As before, but the date " 1799 " under the bust.

(R.) As before, but " 1 farthing" under the figure of Britannia.

SOHO PATTERNS.

In addition to the Bronze coinage minted at Soho for circulation by the State, a large number of patterns were struck. A penny, halfpenny, and quarter penny, by T. Wyon, are interesting. On the obverse is the bust of the King, with the words " British Commercial Penny, " and on the farthing the legend reads " British " Commercial Quarter Penny. " The reverses have the figure of Britannia, seated on a gun carriage, with her right hand resting on the wheel, and in her right an olive branch ; date 1797.

Another pattern penny shows the helmet on Britannia, and the word " Soho " on the rim instead of on the rock.

In 1806 patterns were submitted for what are known as the Britanniarum penny and halfpenny. A twopenny piece and farthing have since been concocted.

The Droz halfpence are beautifully engraved, and there are thirteen varieties of them. The edge of one is inscribed " Render to Cesar *(sic)* the things which are

"Cesar's." In another the eagle's head is under the bust of the King with somewhat Bourbon features. Droz was an eminent engraver in Paris, before being sent for by Boulton, and the French character of his work doubtless would cause the rejection of these pieces for the national coinage. They are withal a set of lovely patterns.

These and other examples are here for inspection.

DROZ HALFPENCE.

1. (O.) Bust to right, with curl over shoulder and bare neck reaching to a pellet under the coin. An eagle's head over a thunderbolt under the bust. Legend, "Georgius III., D.G. Rex."
   (R.) Britannia, seated on a globe, with robes richly embroidered. In her right hand a spear, a garland in her left. The left arm supports a shield under which is a small "D."
   (Ex.) A ship's rudder and crossed palm branches. Legend, "Britannia, 1788." Small lozenges form the periods. Montague No. 1, p. 60.
2. (O.) As last.
   (R.) As last, but with date removed from the legend, and substituted for the rudder and crossed palm branches in exergue. The small "D" under the shield is omitted.
   (E.) Plain.
3. (O.) As last.
   (R.) Britannia, seated, etc., but in the ex. there is a ship's rudder and palm branches crossed instead of the date "Britannia, 1788." The spear in this case passes through the "A N." instead of the "T A." as in No. 1, and there is a small "D" under the shield.
   (E.) Plain.
4. (O.) As last, but the neck shorter and without the eagle's head under bust.
   (R.) As last.
   (E.) Guilloche.
5. The same in silver.
   (E.) Plain.
6. (O.) Bust, etc., as last, but with no curl on the shoulder, and "Droz F." under it; a flower for the period at the end of legend.
   (R.) Britannia, seated, with her right arm extended; her left supports a shield and spear; a laurel branch behind the shield. "Britannia" and a flower as a period. Ex., "1790," between two quatrefoils, under the feet of the figure "Dr. F." There is no "D." under the shield. (Plate I., No. 21).
   (O.) "Render to Cesar the things which are Cesar's;" with two fleur-de-lis and a flower.
7. The same, but in gold, and probably unique in this metal.
8. As last, but E. guilloche.
9. As last, but E. plain.

Montague No. 6, pl. 61.

10. As last, but no hair under bust, and without initials on the shoulder Beneath the bust " Droz, F. ;" small quatrefoils for stops.
(E.) Guilloche.
11. The same in silver.
12. (O.) Bust to right, etc., as No. 1.
(R.) Britannia seated on a globe, with right hand extended and finger pointing between the " B R., " whereas in the former it pointed between the " R I. " The right arm supports a shield and paddle, on which is a dolphin and an anchor. Legend, " Britannia " between small flowers Ex., " 1790." " Droz." to left, and " F." to right, with " Droz. Inv. " under the date.
(E.) Plain.
13. (O.) As last.
(R.) A nude figure of Britannia seated on globe, etc., as obverse, but with shield and paddle plain. No legend.
(E.) Plain.
14. The same, but in silver.
15. (O.) Bust, etc., as No. 7.
(R.) As last.
16. (O.) Bust to right, etc.
(R.) Britannia, seated, etc., but dated 1793.
(E.) " Render, etc."

PATTERN COINS BY DROZ.

CROWN.

(O.) Hercules breaking the bundle of sticks. Leg., VIS VNITATE. FORTIOR, " 1820."
(R.) The Royal arms in a shield, surmounted by a crown. Leg., " DECVS. ET. " TVTAMEN. "

SHILLING.

(O.) Geo. III. bust to right laurated.
(R.) The monogram " G. R." in script capitals, and surmounted by a crown, " 1787."

SIXPENCES.

(O.) The monogram " G. R." crowned, between laurel branches.
(R.) Britannia seated on a globe, and shield at her side. In her left hand a spear, and in her right an olive branch. Leg., " Britannia, 1790." (Plate I., No. 19).
(O.) As last, but without a dotted border.
(R.) As last, but the olive branch is omitted, and the shield much larger, " 1791 " in exergue, and no dotted border.

FARTHING.

(O.) The King's laurated bust to right.

R. Britannia seated on a globe. Leg., "Britannia, 1791."

This is probably a forgery, and the next which is supposed to be the work of Küchler although of fine workmanship is doubtful.

O. Bust of Geo. III. to left, crowned, under the shoulder "K." Legend, "Georgius III. Dei Gratia Rex."

R. Britannia seated on a rock, in her right hand an olive branch, and in her left a trident; a shield with heraldic colouring to left with "Soho" under and waves beneath. In the distance a three-mast ship. Leg., "Britannia 1799." Plate I., No. 12.

The Silver dollar of 1804 was minted at Soho for the Bank of England. It was by Küchler, and proofs were struck in copper. These tokens were issued to obviate the necessity of counter stamping the Spanish dollar and half dollar with the King's bust, which had been extensively resorted to, in consequence of a dearth of the Silver currency.

From the same blanks, and therefore of the same weight, a token for six shillings was struck [at Soho] for the Bank of Ireland; in fact, the same obverse die was used. Why Ireland should be made to take tokens of the same intrinsic value as the English dollar for 6/- is not quite clear, but with the currency it was often so in olden times.

Silver pieces for the Gold Coast of one Ackey and half Ackey, with an olive wreath surrounding the initials "G R" [surmounted by a crown and date 1796] forming the obverse, and the reverse containing the arms of the African Company, for whom they were struck. The legend reading "Free Trade To Africa, By Act of Parliament 1750."

The Manx coins of 1798 were coined at Soho, as also were Colonial silver coins for British Guiana, Sierra Leone, Ceylon, Bermuda, Bahama, Barbadoes and other Colonies, as well as for foreign countries and the United States of America.

The Soho Mint by its excellence in art and workmanship gained the admiration of the world, and it would no doubt have produced more of the English coinage had not Boulton and Watt from 1804 to 1810 supplied the New Mint, then erected at Tower Hill, with new and improved machinery, at a cost of £261,977 17s. 0d.

Afterwards in 1811, when private traders had to provide themselves with a currency, Sir Edward Thomason, who had been a pupil of Boulton's, made the Douglas Bank Tokens, and supplied many of the Colonies with coins of various denominations.

In 1846 a set of 10, 5, 2 and 1 cent patterns were issued at Birmingham, by Marriat and Causby to illustrate the advantages of a decimal coinage. The design was poor, bearing on the obverse Wyon's bust of the Queen, and on the reverse the legend "Smith on Decimal Currency 1846."

The last copper currency of George III. was in the years 1806-7. These also were by Küchler and consisted of penny, halfpenny, and farthing. The penny was

much smaller than the 1797 piece ; as also were the halfpenny and farthing to those of 1799.

George IV. lost no time in issuing a copper currency—the farthing of 1821 to 1826 inclusive. The design was original, introducing a helmet on the figure of Britannia, with a lion at her feet. The edge of the coin was raised above a dotted circle. This form of construction has so aided the preservation of the coinage that subsequent artists have found no better way.

The design is :—

(O). Bust of the king, laurated, to left ; mantled, and fastened with a brooch at the shoulder. Leg. : "Georgius IIII., Dei Gratia."

(R.) Britannia, seated, to right ; robed, helmeted, a trident in her hand, and a lion at her feet. Leg. : "Britanniar : "Rex Fid : Def. :" and the date.

It is recorded that the king was annoyed with the outline of his profile on this piece, and wanted Pistrucci—the engraver to the Mint—to design another model after Sir Thomas Lawrence ; but the artist who gave to our gold and silver coinage the bold St. George and the Dragon, declined ; nor would he consent to copy Chantrey's bust for a medallion of the monarch, for whom the country retained his services. Wm. Wyon, R.A., who had made his reputation in Birmingham, was then commissioned to execute a new model [for a penny, halfpenny, and farthing.] This he did from the bust of Chantrey ; the essential difference in the obverse being a head of finer module and the omission of the mantle. The olive branch, and the lion at the feet of Britannia, were omitted from the reverse ; and the rose, thistle, and shamrock, intertwined, substituted for the date, which he placed under the bust on the obverse. Half-farthings were also minted, for Ceylon and Malta.

The copper coinage of William IV. was again that of the penny, halfpenny, and farthing ; but, with the exception of the change of bust, they were similar to Wyon's work of the previous reign. Half and third farthings were coined for Colonial purposes. In 1830 a pattern? came from Soho, showing that even at so late a date hopes were not altogether gone of reinstating the Mint there for the regal coinage.

The obverse was simply an inscription ; with the words—in 6 lines across the field—Victoria / Magnæ / Spies. Altera. / Britannia / Soho, 6 Avg. / 1830.

The reverse die was that of the 1806 penny of Geo. III.

The reign of Victoria has given 3 issues of the copper currency. The first was the work of Wm. Wyon, and the second that of Leonard Charles Wyon. Each gives the denomination of penny, halfpenny, and farthing ; and half, third, and quarter farthings have been struck for Colonial use. William Wyon's work was similar to that on William IV.'s coinage, with the exception of substituting the bust of the Queen.

In 1860 Leonard Charles Wyon designed the bronze coinage ; and it differed from previous models by a fuller bust, and on the reverse by the addition of a lighthouse and a three-masted ship in full sail. The legend denoted the value of the coin, instead of the words "Britannia, &c." In 1881 heraldic tints were added to the shield, which had been ignored up to that date. The last coinage—that of 1895—introduces for the first time on the copper currency Her Majesty as Empress of India, and the bust of a more elderly personage. The reverse is similar to that of the 1860 coinage, but with a larger shield, and the trident in the hand of Britannia is held farther from the figure. The ship and lighthouse are both omitted, as also are the heraldic tints. Objections have been made to disappearance of the ship and lighthouse, as though these had always been on the coinage of England. With the exception of those of George III., no copper coins bear the ship ; and none, other than the bronze coinage of 1860, bear the lighthouse. It is also said that the obverse of the farthing is so very similar to that of the half-sovereign, that it can be gilt and passed for this coin. If so, it is unfortunate ; but people will be very simple if they are so easily deceived, as on the reverse the legend—"one farthing"—appears in very plain letters, as well as the figure of Britannia.

Heaton and Sons—now the Mint, Limited—had large Government contracts in 1874, 5, and 6, and in 1881 and 2, for the bronze pennies, half pennies and farthings; and a small "H" will be found on the coins of those dates, which were struck in Birmingham. These appear to be the only coins which the Birmingham Mint has made for the State. Many foreign Governments have, however, availed themselves of this Contract Mint, for coin.

17 CENTURY TOKENS.

In considering the Tokens of the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries, it is always to be borne in mind, notwithstanding their abuse, that they were intended to circulate as money, and were called forth to supply a want. Modern times have been so plentifully accommodated in the matter of small change, that no conception can be given of the inconveniences endured in olden days for the want of it. It has already been demonstrated that, from the Conquest to the reign of Charles II., there was no coinage proper lower than a silver piece. The silver penny of olden times meant, of course, much more than the bronze penny of to-day, and the people lacked the facility of small money, or a circulating medium that should represent fractions of a penny. Eventually that want was met by the issue of private *tokens*. Grocers, Vintners, Chandlers, Ale-house Keepers, and others, gave change in their own pieces, which generally were made of brass, tin, lead, and even leather. As this apology for a coinage was only valid at the shop from which it was issued, the inconvenience to the poor may be easily imagined. The British Solomon—James I.—tried to meet this abuse by granting a patent to Lord Harrington, to coin farthing tokens of copper, which became known as "Harringtons" and "Half-Harringtons"; but, although the King commanded

the people to honour this currency, they circulated with difficulty. One peculiar abuse cropped up in connection with these "Harringtons." Wholesale buyers could purchase them at the rate of 21/- for 20/- ; and, in consequence, workmen's wages were frequently paid all in halfpence and farthings, the employers pocketing the profits. Moreover, they were so extensively counterfeited, that at last everybody got shy of taking them ; and a "Petition of the Poor" was presented to the House of Commons, complaining that "there was no exchange for their farthings, to their great damage ; even to their utter undoing." Nothing was done during the Civil War to meet this evil, and private tokens made their appearance again. What we know of the 17th century tokens extends from the latter part of Charles the First's time to the middle of Charles the Second's.

The tokens of this century are very small and mean in appearance, and, as may be supposed, are anything but works of art. Those of Warwickshire are fair samples of the whole, so that a description of their general features will apply to all. It is thought by some that they were struck with the hammer and punch, in much the same make-shift way that the ill-fated Charles I. was driven to in his troubles, moving from place to place, and taking his moneyers with him, who struck his siege coins out of pieces of old plate. The earliest of the Warwickshire tokens is dated 1651, two years after his execution, and when Cromwell was at the height of his power ; and the latest is 1671, when Charles II. had been king for 11 years, Our county shows 195 tokens, from about 150 issuers ; some few of the tokens being varieties of die from the same issuer, which accounts for the discrepancy.

Coventry, which was then the most important place in the county, has 45 pieces ; Birmingham comes next, with 24 ; and Warwick third, with 20. They are all halfpennies and farthings ; there being 105 halfpennies and 90 farthings. Coventry had some special privileges as to coining, and so there were *City* tokens bearing the City Arms—an Elephant and Castle. But besides these of Coventry there were other official or semi-official tokens, viz., from the Chamberlains of Tamworth, and the "Bayliffe" of Hemlingford Hundred. The others were issued by tradespeople, such as Mercers, Grocers, Victuallers, Cordwainers, Pewterers, &c. In Coventry and Rugby, we have Weavers and Feltmakers ; in Griff and Merevale, the Miners' calling is depicted. Many indications take us back to the quaint old life of the period. Thus, one issuer described himself on his token as "*Marcer*. and. Grocer. At. The. Sugar. Lofe." recalling the times when every shopkeeper had his sign. There was no standard for spelling in those days. As Sam Weller said, it all depended "on the taste and fancy of the speller." A man's name might be spelt very differently on each of his varieties of token, if he had more than one. The same play of fancy was indulged in with regard to the names of places. Thus, we have "*Kenton*," for Kineton ; "*Noneton*," for Nuneaton ; "*Darraton*," for Deritend. Sometimes, when the simple artificer could not get all his inscription on one side of the token, he continued it on the other. One piece has on the obverse—"Lvke. Barrow. Felt.", and on the reverse—"Maker.

In. Rvgby." Another has on the obverse—" Rob. Whinicke. Pipe.", and on the reverse, " Maker. In. Warrwick." One or two issuers show their wit in punning devices. Thus, William Reynolds shows a *fox* on his token ; " Samvell Tissall "—a *thistle.* The use, or excuse, for the issue of such pieces is expressed on two of them—both official ones. One is inscribed—" For. necessary. Chaing." ; the other—" For. Chainge. and Charitie." (Plate II., 20 and 21.)

The Birmingham tokens are full of interest, bearing as they do the names of many who in various ways link the past to the present. There is William Colmore, supposed to have been a mercer in the Bull Ring ; George Fentham, a fellow tradesman in the same place ; Robert Smallbrooke, a mercer in Corn Cheaping ; Thomas Pemberton and Thomas Russell, both ironmongers or merchants, in the Rother—or Beast—Market, High st.

Occasionally an unpublished piece makes its appearance and causes quite a flutter among collectors, who at once set themselves the task of diving into the archives of Antiquity to discover all about the issuer of the token.

Since this paper was read the Author has become the fortunate possessor of an interesting token issued in the 17th century by Henry Hodgits, of Birmingham. It is the only Warwickshire token with an emblazoned shield of arms. (Plate II., No. 22.)

The " Merry Monarch," Charles II., sought to put down this surreptitious private coinage, and ordered the issue of halfpence and farthings " which should contain as much copper *in weight* as should be of their true intrinsick value respectively." These pieces were not so cumbrous as might be supposed, as copper then was a much more precious metal than it is now. Notwithstanding this measure, salutary though it was, private tokens continued to be issued, till they were stringently put down, and we hear no more of them for a hundred years.

It was very curious—this grudging and imperfect way of meeting the public convenience, on the part of the ruling powers. Montague says :—" It had always apparently been considered by the reigning Sovereigns that the coinage in the inferior metals was a subject beneath their dignity." Only under great pressure did they condescend to supply their subjects with necessary small money. All such, even when coined at the Royal Mints, still continued to be called *Tokens*, and they were counterfeited wholesale, until, at one time, in the reign of George II., it was computed that nearly one half of this currency was base, and shopkeepers refused to receive any—good or bad. Still the evil of counterfeiting grew and grew. Meetings were held in Birmingham and all over the country ; petitions were got up ; and every effort was made to stop the pernicious practice, which caused so much loss to the poor. It appears that this crisis, " *with full public approval*," traders began to issue private tokens again, which are what we know as the " 18th Century Tokens." These were different from the ancient ones of lead, latten, and leather ; and even from the later but still insignificant ones of the 17th century.

18TH CENTURY TOKENS.

A contemporary reviewer, writing in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, said:—"Excepting "the coins of the Romans, there has nothing occurred parallel to these within so short "a period, since the eras of the independent States of Greece, when almost every city "had its distinct coinage." The writer was snpposed to be Thomas Wright, of Dundee, a famous collector and issuer of tokens. He also wrote the preface for the Virtuoso Companion. (Plate I., No. 17.) This eulogium was deserved ; and the excellence that called it forth was in a great measure due to Birmingham. It must be remembered that these were the palmy days of the gilt button trade ; and that such buttons, which were not only the fashion but the rage, were got up regardless of expense, and with a rivalry between manufacturers as to artistic treatment and finish. A volume might be written about these and other kindred productions of the time, which was distinctly an era of Art manufacture ; our great townsman Boulton being one of its earliest and ablest pioneers. (Plate I., No. 2.)

In the hoards of token Collectors many names and features of old local worthies are perpetuated. While the most part of these tokens were for *use*, they were also availed of as a medium for advertisement. In some cases, no doubt, a tradesman or employer, who was in a sense an issuer of his own money, would think it perfectly legitimate to put his own head on his coins, instead of that of his Sovereign. As illustrating the statement in "The Token Coinage of Warwickshire"—that "the "history of a country, and of its people, may in some degree be read in its tokens"—one or two instances may be given. One of the largest among the token-issuers of the last century was John Wilkinson—"the father of the Iron Trade." He appears to have been as much a Napoleon in his special walk as Boulton was in *his*. Indeed, it might be said, that as Boulton was necessary to Watt, so Wilkinson was necessary to them both ; and that the era of Steam Power owed as much to the inventive skill of the Broseley ironmaster, as it did to the business capacity of the Soho manufacturer, or to the genius of the Scotch philosopher. Watt found in Wilkinson "the very man "he wanted." He it was who discovered the way to bore cylinders and to perfect other parts so as to make Watt's ideas *possible*. Telford speaks of him as—"The "great John Wilkinson, king of the Ironmasters." Wilkinson coined for the use of his Works tokens which were considered as good as money anywhere. There were issued no fewer than 66 distinct varieties of copper halfpenny tokens, besides a few silver ones representing 3s. 6d. each. But numismatists note very small differences, arising from the use of more than one die. A die may get broken, or become worn. However clever or careful a die engraver might be, there would be sure to be some slight difference which could not escape the keen eye of the Collector, and make a sub-variety that would be valuable to him in proportion to its rarity. As there are no two human faces alike, so there are no two dies exactly the same. On all these pieces the bust of the old ironmaster adorns the obverse, while the reverses have varied designs, the principal among them bearing some reference to his trade ; such as the interior of a forge, and the figure of Vulcan. Some have the representation of an

iron ship, which class of vessel he was the first to build and launch, amidst the incredulity and ridicule of all the world. One piece has on the reverse—done no doubt for some wag of the period—the somewhat irreverent inscription:—"And he "said—Let us make pennys after my own image." There is another token bearing John Wilkinson's "image and superscription," but which belongs more to Dr. Priestley, who married Wilkinson's sister. It represents the doctor placing a fool's cap on the head of a man designated by the inscription as "John Nott;" a *nom de plume* assumed by a scribbler of the period, one of Priestley's detractors.

Wilkinson's tokens were engraved by Hancock, and struck at the Soho Mint. (Plate I., No. 13.) The famous Lunar Society, which met alternately at each member's house once a month, when the moon was at full to light them home, contained such names as Watt, Boulton, Wedgwood, Sir Humphrey Davy, and John Wilkinson.

Several numismatic mementos exist of Priestley. In *Aris's Gazette* of August 4, 1783, there occurs the following announcement:—

"This day is published, in gold, silver, and bronze, taken from the life, and "executed by J. G. Hancock, Birmingham, an elegant and striking medal of Dr. "Priestly, the reverse of which represents some of the Doctor's newly invented "experimental machinery." (Plate I., Nos. 3 and 4.)

There is no need to speak of Dr. Priestley's history to a Warwickshire audience, but those who know it best will best appreciate these mementos of the man, the art, and the time. Another such memento is of a man equally prominent in his own way —the poet Freeth. There is only one variety celebrating him, but that is curious and interesting. On the obverse is the bust of the quaint old worthy in his cocked hat: within an oaken wreath on the reverse is inscribed:—

"Britons behold
The Bard of Freedom plain and bold,
Who sings as Druids sung of old." (Plate II., No. 1.)

Another token is interesting because of its reminiscences of Old Birmingham. It is that of one J. Allin, who kept a noted corner shop, in a noted neighbourhood, just a century ago. His token advertises:—Allin's panorama. Grand Exhibition. Admit 1/-"; and on the other side this anti-climax:—"Cheap clothes and York shoe warehouse wholesale and retail. I. Allin, Haymarket, Birmingham, 1796."

The Haymarket, which was also called Mount Pleasant, was the open space at the top of New Street; and Allin's panorama and cheap clothes shop was on the site now occupied by the Council House. (Plate II., No. 11.)

The Poor-Law Authorities of Birmingham issued in 1788 a token in copper and brass for 2/6; on the obverse of which is represented a mendicant receiving alms; but the work is poor, and it is not known if the female figure in the act of giving alms to the beggar is intended to be emblematical of Birmingham. Copper pieces were issued by the same authority; for 1/6 in 1795, and for 1/- in 1798-9; the former with

a beehive and bees for the obverse, and the latter with the bust of Nelson. (Plate II., Nos. 15 and 23.) Early in *this* century the Overseers also issued *paper* money for £5, £1, 5/-, and 2/6; and one in *leather* for 5/-.

George Barker, a solicitor, and an eminent numismatist, enriched the cabinets of collectors by issuing some private tokens of a classical character; one of his pennies bearing the head of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham (Plate III., No. 8); and another the bust of "Diva Britannia." (Plate III., No. 1.) A halfpenny has the head of Mercury, with a reverse charged with a pyramid in ruins, and a fallen statue; typical perhaps of the flight of Time. (*A unique specimen in silver is submitted for inspection.*) (Plate I., No. 5.) Mr. Barker's son—Geo. Hollington Barker—added a beautiful private token, representing a richly-robed female figure, suspending the emblem of Justice, and standing in a sunken oval; with a shield on the reverse; the crest being a demi-Moor. (Plate I., No. 9.)

All these tokens were by Hancock senior, or junior. Young Hancock executed a fine bust of Shakespeare, and another of "Sir Original" in a long wig. Who Sir Original was is not known. Young Hancock is said to have been only 9 years of age at the time; and Pye, who described and engraved these tokens in 1801, writes that both the father and the persons for whom they were made declared that the dies were actually the work of this precocious boy. (Plate II., No. 3.)

Bisset, the publisher of the "Magnificent Directory of Birmingham," a work well known as of great merit, with a "Poetic Survey" (of which it would be as dangerous to express a favourable opinion as to sing the praises of the present Poet Laureate) issued three tokens, advertising what he called his "Museum," a curiosity shop in New Street, just below the Theatre. The penny is one of Wyon's neatest productions, but unfortunately it is very rare. (Plate I., Nos. 1 and 6.) A trial piece by Hancock is very interesting, and it represents the interior of his workshop at Soho. Jacobs, who kept a shop near the Welsh Cross, and who on his token holds a pair of tea scales behind a counter, was also a dealer in ironmongery, an engraver, chaser, and auctioneer. (Plate III., No. 11.) Two pugilists, who appear to have fought for the championship of England, come in for special representation. Perrins, one of the combatants, was employed at Soho, and was reported to be the strongest man in England. The Union Mill, as early as 1796, issued tokens on which was the emblem of unity and a cornucopia of wheat, within a wreath of wheat ears. The Company was called "The Birmingham Flour and Bread Company," whose object was to sell bread at cost price; and the tokens were used between the holders of shares.

Debating and other Societies had their tokens, as also did the Yeomanry. (Plate II., No. 2, and Plate III., Nos. 4, 5, and 6.) Wm. Hallan, of the Bull Ring, dealer in China, and who kept an "intelligence office for masters and servants," issued 9 tokens, 3 of which bore busts of George III., David Garrick, and himself. (Plate III., No. 14.) Wyon designed and executed, for Kempson, 27 of the principal

buildings of Birmingham, and one of the reigning monarch. This was when the town had a seventh of its present population, and the pieces recall a picture of the city when it was only giving promise of its present greatness. By themselves they form an interesting collection, and include the Old Cross—once the Town Hall —which stood where Nelson's Monument now stands (Plate II., No. 5), and the Old Meeting Chapels, that remind the inhabitants of this city of the surging mob who so shamefully hunted down the man to whose memory they have since erected a statue—the great Dr. Priestley. The Soho manufactory, erected 1764, with its trees in the foreground, and the new Brass Works (1796), emitting dense smoke from its chimneys, show the commercial character of the times.

The Masons had their token, bearing their own arms and motto. (Plate II., No. 4.) The Mining and Copper Companies caused tons of half-pence to be coined. The obverse of their token bore a female figure supporting the emblem of unity, and on the reverse appears a stork, resting on a cornucopia. (Plate I., No. 7.)

Charles Pye's token was emblematical of Industry, with the legend, "The support of Britain." (Plate III., No. 13.)

In the early days of truck pieces were issued by employers for various values; and provisions, &c., were exchanged for them. One such was used by the colliery proprietors at Bank-lands, Bedworth, as early as 1769; and one later, at Wyken Colliery. Many of these tokens were the work of Halliday, who engraved for Thompson and other makers. It was at Halliday's that Peter Wyon worked after he left Boulton's, and were William Wyon was taught his trade.

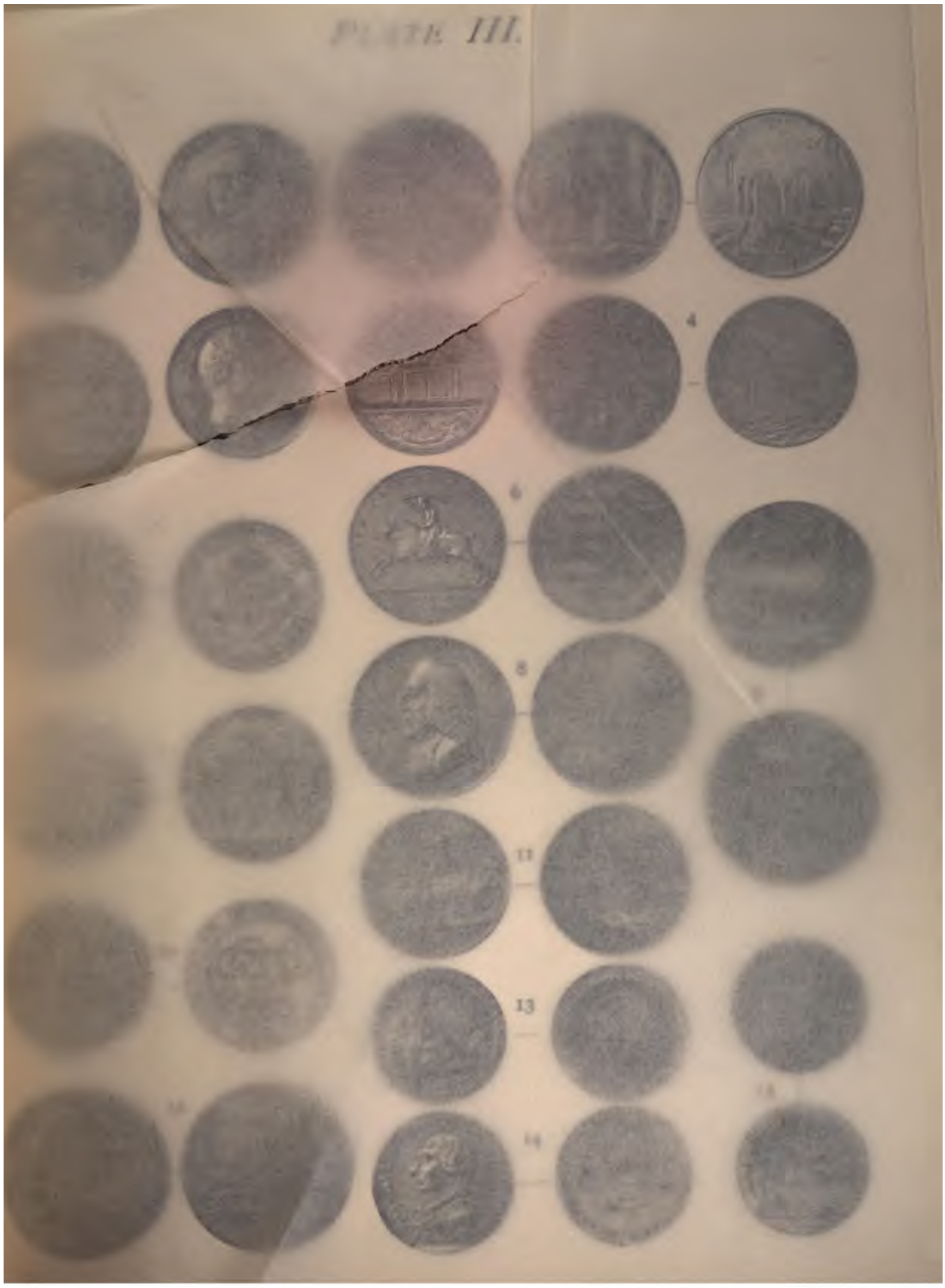
The buildings of Coventry, from the deigns of Sharp, were engraved by Wyon. There are 19 different tokens, and the work is deeper cut than those of Birmingham. The arms of the city form the reverse for all. Coventry being the oldest city of Warwickshire, and one of the most ancient in the country, lends to the subject greater historical interest; and when an illustration is being examined, such as the remains of the Cathedral, the last relic of the monastic pile founded by Leofric, Grey Friars and Spou Gates, Bablake Church, St. Michael's, and St. Mary's Hall; one is apt to throw the token aside, for the charm of the chronicler, with his fuller powers, to transmit the light of antiquity and to keep the past in memory green. (Plate II., No. 10.)

Percy, of Coventry, commissioned Hancock to execute a penny token with the bust of Philemon Holland for an obverse. There were three reverse dies; one with an open book supported by two other volumes. The open book is inscribed:—

"With one sole pen I wrote this book;
Made of a grey goose quill;
A pen it was when I it took,
A pen I leave it still." (Plate III., No. 2.)

Philemon was usher to the Free School in 1608, and was presented with the freedom of the city in 1612. He translated Camden; and is said to have written

PLATE III.



bearing the
Companies
a female figure
resting on a
(illustrations
No. 13.)
pieces were
designed for their
Sedworth, as early
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PLATE III.

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B. JACOB
AUCTIONEER
IRONMONGER &c
WELCH CROSS
BIRMINGHAM

the M.S. of the "Romanes Histories" throughout with one pen. Sharp, who was a hatter, and carried on business in Peeping Tom's house, gave to collectors a token by Jorden, which for appropriateness and beauty is not excelled by any in the whole series, either of this or any other county. On the obverse is seated a richly robed female figure, her right elbow resting on a civic sword, and her left hand supporting a shield charged with the arms of Coventry. At her feet are a Mitre, Crozier, and Mace; in the distance is a view of Coventry. On the reverse the house of Peeping Tom, with his figure projecting from one of the windows: the "King's Head" adjoining. (Plate II., No. 9.)

Nixon, another antiquary of the time, issued a half-penny with the three-quarter bust of John Hales, founder of the Free School in 1543. In one variety Hales is holding a sealed document, and in another a book. The reverse of both is a view of the Free School. (Plate II., No. 13.)

Wyon executed the Penny Token of St. Michael's with reverse interior of the Chancel, but who issued it is not known, and but for the Edge being inscribed "Coventry token" it would be regarded as a Medal. (Plate III., No. 9.)

Meriden gives an archery token, bearing the crest of the Prince of Wales, over the bow, quiver, target, and bugle. An archer drawing a bow occupies the field on the reverse. (Plate II., No. 7.) A reviewer in the "Athenæum," last September, writes:—"Under Meriden we find a token which is, we believe, one of the Archery prizes of the Society known as the 'Foresters of Arden,' which descends from an old Foresters' Guild." A Newton half-penny was struck for John Webb. It has on the one side a wool-pack, and on the other a shield of arms. Kempson published a token of Kenilworth, which has the Cæsars' Tower for its obverse; and the words "Warwickshire Promissory Penny" on the reverse. Stratford tokens appropriately give prominence to the profile of the Immortal Bard. Tamworth has its Church, Castle. and Town Hall, well represented on pennies and halfpennies engraved by Hancock. (Plate II., No. 14 and Plate III., No. 7.) John Harding, calico printer, has his name and calling in compartments on one of these; and the Rev. C. Blick, a numismatist, issued the Church and Castle token. Warwick gives us 2 political pieces, called the "Greatheads" and the "Loggerheads," both satirical of the Priestley controversy. (Plate I., No. 8 and Plate III., No. 12.) These were by Westwood, who also engraved the dies for the Birmingham half-halfpennies, and all the half-halfpence of other towns. (Plate II., No. 17.)

A Birmingham poor-house halfpenny, bearing the name of "J. Alston," appeared in 1796; and although it says on it—"Payable there," there is no record in the Overseers' books of any authority for its issue. (Plate II., No. 12.) Clark, a chemist in Bull Street, had his token, and it was one of the prettiest. On the obverse Britannia is crowning a bust of George III. with laurel. The reverse has an oak tree and ships at sea. (Plate III., No. 15.) Mrs. Eves, Mrs. Pope, and Miss Eves, of the Crescent, had their token, which was presented to the young ladies attending their

school. This Mrs. Eves was authoress of "The Grammatical plaything." Samuel Garbett, a man who raised himself from a brassworker to become one of our earliest local legislators, is immortalised by Hancock on a "trial piece" of the period. (Plate II., No. 6.)

In 1811, silver tokens were issued by Local Authorities, Bankers, Mill-owners, and others, to supply a silver currency, which the Government had grossly neglected. Mr. Lane, the occupier of a wool-comber's mill, at Bedworth, issued a shilling—"payable at Bedworth Mill." (Plate I., No. 14.) The Overseers of Birmingham again appeared with tokens for 2/6, 1/-, and 6d. Edward Wright, a grocer and tea dealer, of Bull Street, used a half-crown of his own, shewing a China-man standing between tea-chests; the Arms of the De-Birmingham family forming the reverse. (Plate I., No. 15.) These were the only silver pieces used in Warwickshire. Thomas manufactured many of them, as also a *gold* 40/- piece for Mr. J. B. Monk, a banker at Reading.

Among the most noted and the best work in the copper tokens of the 19th century was the Birmingham Overseers' *sixpence*, weighing 5oz. 3dwt., with the Workhouse and the Arms of Birmingham. A pattern penny of the same design, by Wyon, also deserves special mention for its excellence of execution. Sir Edward Thomason, in 1811, paid his workpeople with pennies made in his own works. The Union, Crown, and other Copper Companies, made tokens for general convenience, but they were matter-of-fact kind of productions, without pretence to artistic attainments, and the great bulk of them were the work of Halliday. Jones, by 6 beautifully engraved dies, emblematical of "Vile," "Changeable," "Noble," "Poetic," "Slow-and-Furious Love," redeemed the period to some small extent from its Spartan character.

Wm. Booth, the notorious forger of bank notes, and maker of false money, was not without his token. It is said that he struck the Perry Barr penny to cover his illicit arts in forging and die-sinking. He was tried and found guilty of forgery, and was executed at Stafford on August 15, 1812. His token is rare; and some one has issued a spurious example of the forger's art; but although the latter is of fine workmanship, the differences of die are easily discernible to the keen eye of the expert collector.

Sir George Chetwynd's penny, with his bust and a view of Grendon Hall (Plate III., No. 3); and a halfpenny bearing his Arms—the former by B. Wyon and the latter by Halliday—were the latest private tokens of Warwickshire, except the "Centenary Buildings," published in 1895. It was from Sir George Chetwynd's famous collection that Thomas Sharp, commissioned by the Baronet, compiled his celebrated catalogue; a copy of which has only this year been added to the Birmingham Reference Library, at a cost of 6 guineas.

All tokens intended to be used as money were suppressed by the Government on July 5, 1813; and none have since made their appearance.

MEDALS.

To exhaust the subject of MEDALS produced in this country would be a considerable work; and therefore a summary must suffice. Being much larger than coins, they give more scope to the engraver's art. They, too, record portraiture of kings, statesmen, warriors, and men of mark in every path of life. There is scarcely a man of distinction passed, or a subject left untreated. Character is revealed in them more than in coins or tokens; indeed such is one of the main purposes for which they were produced.

The medals referred to by Gibbon in his "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire" were *coins* of the period; and it was not until the 15th century that *medals* and *medallions*, as they are now understood, made their appearance; and to the Italians the world is indebted for their origin, as it is for the Renaissance and Florentine styles of architecture. The work of the famous Italian sculptors differed materially from that of more modern times, as until the 16th century medals were *cast*, and afterwards chased; so that they might be said to be *wrought*, and not *struck*.

The first reputed English medal was cast in Italy, and relates to the famous 89 days' siege of Rhodes in 1480. It was found nearly 200 years ago in Knaresborough forest; and afterwards placed in the Devonshire collection. The bust of Sir John Kendal forms the obverse, he being General of the Cavalry, of the "Order of Rhodes" —now of "Malta." The reverse has the Kendal Arms. The inscription is in Latin, which is when interpreted:—"In the time of the siege by the Turks, 1480."

At the commencement of the 16th century medals were first struck from dies. The medallists were gem-engravers or goldsmiths, who like the button-artists of Birmingham in the case of the 18th century tokens, were found to possess just the talent required to supply the demand brought about by the new method. The art spread throughout Europe; but for some time medallions of large module continued to be cast.

In the time of Charles I., N. Briot, a Frenchman, and chief engraver to the Paris Mint, came to England, and executed during the civil wars medals which are now of great historical interest. We find on the obverses profiles of illustrious characters, such as Essex, Strafford, and Fairfax. In this reign the Kineton medal, commemorating the battle of Edge Hill, and the first known to have been struck in Warwickshire, was executed by Rawlins, in silver. It was found in a field belonging to Mr. Evelyn, and is now in the collection at Aston Hall.

(O.) Figure of the King (Charles I.) and his Queen, crowned and seated, with hands united. They are trampling on a dragon (the rebellious Parliament). The King is in armour; above his head is the sun; and the Queen's head is surmounted by the moon (Apollo and Diana). Legend, "Certivs Pythonem Jvncti."

(R.) "XIII. IVL. Carol. Et. Maria. M.B.F. Et. H. RR. In. Valle Keinton

Avspiscat. Occurrent. Et Pugato in Occident Rebellivm Vict. Et. Pac. Omen. Oxon. M. DC. XLIII."

The meaning is that the King and Queen having fortunately met in the Valley of Kineton, on the 13th July, 1643, dispersed the rebels in the West, and brought an omen of victory and peace to Oxford.

The medal is very rare, as in 1787 it was purchased at Mr. Bartlett's sale for £25 10s. It then passed to Mr. Lyssen, and subsequently to Mr. Staunton. Another specimen is in the Bank of England; and a cast in silver is in the British Museum. It is 1½in. in diameter, and weighs 7dwts. 16gr. During the Commonwealth and Cromwell's protectorate medals were struck in abundance. The Popish plot in Charles II.'s time, the trial of the seven bishops, and other events in the attempt to restore Catholicism by James II., came down in medallic form; not even the old and young pretenders being neglected by the die engravers. The great Simon lived in this time, who engraved the "petition crown" of Charles II.; a specimen of which realised £500 at a sale by Sotheby, Wilkinson, and Hodge, a few years ago.

The description of the "Seven Bishop's" medal is:—

(O.) The Established Church standing on a rock, the spire supported by a hand from heaven; a monk on the one side, and a priest on the other, attempting in vain to dig away its foundations. Leg., "The Gates of "Hell shall not prevail against it."

(R.) The seven bishops in profile, each with a circle, and named, with stars dividing the six outer circles; the inner circle being occupied by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

William and Mary, and Anne, availed themselves mostly of Dutch artists, but there was no abatement in issues of commemorative and other medals. In fact although the execution was not as good as that of Simon, Rawlins, Briot, or Rottier, their sequence or suite was the most complete in English history. The rage for medals was abated in the reign of George I. The Dutch medallists had gone, and the demand or enterprise was not sufficient to induce English artists to compete for their production. There were important medals struck in George II.'s time. It was in this reign that Dassier, who came to England from Geneva, acquired such reputation by his set of the Kings and Queens of England from the Norman Conquest to George II. Dassier had previously given to the world his set of medals of the chief Protestant Reformers; and his medallic Roman history is famous throughout the civilised world. Events such as the conquest of Canada, the Austrian succession, and the Jacobite rebellion of 1745 are among those celebrated by the medals of this period.

MILITARY AND NAVAL MEDALS.

Military and naval medals have not been dealt with so far, but they commenced with the Armada; and it is not certain whether originally these decorations were presented, as they now are, by Royal favour. Charles I. did, however, grant medals to soldiers who by deeds of valour distinguished themselves in "forlorn hopes," and military badges were distributed to his most zealous and bravest men. The Dunbar

medal owes its origin to the Commonwealth, as also does Blake's flagship, distributed to officers engaged in the victorious contest with the Dutch in July, 1658. It was not until the battle of Culloden, in 1746 that these decorations were again conferred ; and from then to nearly the close of the 18th century no attention was given to this appropriate custom of Royal and public recognition of acts of bravery in the country's service. The East India Company, in 1784, awarded to the troops a medal for services rendered in the West of India ; and this custom the Company continued during its control of Indian affairs.

Alexander Davision, of London, and Matthew Boulton, of Soho, presented two fine medals as a "tribute of regard" to those who fought so gallantly in the battles of the Nile and Trafalgar. The Waterloo medal was executed at Soho, and was the first in this century to be awarded by Royal favour. Her Majesty Queen Victoria had reigned 10 years before it was decided to decorate those who fought in the Peninsular War, which commenced in 1793, and was not ended until 1814. During the present reign no battles have been fought where those engaged have not been awarded decorations of honour. Special orders or distinctions have been instituted, as the Victoria Cross for personal deeds of valour in presence of the enemy ; the Albert Medal for saving of life on land ; naval and military medals for long and meritorious services.

At the end of the last century and the commencement of this, Matthew Boulton and Peter Kempson supplied the world with many fine medals of eminent men, with reverses of striking character. They were designed on the first principles of art, *as will be seen by the specimen submitted for inspection.* The dies were engraved by Hancock, the Wyons, Webb, Küchler, and others, and are far too numerous to be described here. They are as well known to numismatists as are the great paintings of the world to art connoiseurs. Unless a collector equal to such a task tabulates and illustrates them, it is to be feared that much of Birmingham's fame will be lost to future ages.

The "Pitt Club" and other political medals form in themselves an interesting collection ; and most of these were the work of Birmingham artists. In 1798 60,000 people witnessed the presentation of colours to the "Loyal Cavalry" and other Volunteers on Birmingham Heath. The colours were worked by the young ladies attending Mrs. Eves's School ; and a medal by Barber was struck to commemorate the event.

Description :—

(O.) A pedestal, surmounted by a crown. The colours at sides. The pedestal is inscribed :—"Struck to commemorate the presentation of colours to the Birmingham Loyal Association, June 4, 1798." Under the structure :—"Jorden Fecit et Dedicavit."

(R.) A female figure, seated to right, presenting an olive branch to a cupid ; her right arm resting on a shield bearing the emblem of Unity and a

cornucopia. Inscribed above, in script capitals, " L. B. L. H. V.", and below, " B. L. A." Under the figure :—" Instituted June 10, 1797."

Matthew Boulton died on August 17, 1809, but with him the spark of art had not wholly fled. Thomason, afterwards Sir Edward, did some excellent medallic work ; and his first, best, and greatest, was appropriately the medallion of Boulton. It is from a deep cut die, measures 4 inches in diameter, and weighs 20¾ ounces. *(See specimen).*

In 1827, Sir Edward Thomason executed a 2½in. medal of the Duke of Wellington, with a copy of the King's appointment as the reverse; and delivered it to the Duke in London within 48 hours of his reading the appointment in the *Courier* ; and this in the pre-railway days. Among his many medals was the union of the Atlantic.

Description :—

(O.) A river. God conducting Neptune to the river Erie. Legend :—" Union of Erie with the Atlantic."

(R.) An eagle standing on a part of the globe, with a shield, bearing the rays of the sun rising from the water. A ship in full sail, and a building in the distance. Inscribed on a garter under the shield, " Excelsior." Legend :—" Erie Canal commenced 4th July, 1817. Completed 26th Oct., 1825." In small letters below—" Thomason."

A series of 16 medals, described by Mr. Hamper, the Warwickshire antiquary, as " The Iliad in a Nutshell ;" 48 medals, " The Elgin Marbles," published in 1820 ; and 60 of the " Holy Scriptures," published 10 years afterwards ; form an intelligent and interesting collection. The national series of battles, known as Mudie's medals, were struck in the years 1817 and 18. Capt. Mudie, at a cost of £10,000, created quite a sensation with these beautiful works. The art upon them was mainly French, as the Captain brought to Birmingham from France the dies, one by one, as they were ready. Thomason, however, assisted in their production through his best artists. *(See specimens).*

Sir Edward was the first Birmingham man to be knighted, and he received that honour in eight other countries.

The Reform period of 1832 produced from Davis, Halliday, and other Warwickshire artists, medals of some merit ; as also did the emancipation of the slaves, and the agitation for Free Trade. *Selections for comparison in art between these periods, and that of the old masters, are submitted.* Jones, a goldsmith, of the Pantechnatheca, in New Street, issued medals of good style ; and Avern did some excellent profile work. Ottley also made medals ; but often the artist was unknown. This applies to some of the medals issued by Jones.

One example of Halliday is the " Birmingham and Edgbaston Proprietory Prize Medal," which has for the obverse the head of Minerva and a Latin inscription ; and on the reverse the word " Dignissimo " in a floral border, with the name of the

Institution in an outer circle. The one submitted for examination was presented to Thomas Jobson in 1854. This is in silver, and is accompanied by one of the same metal, commemorating the granting of the Charter of Coventry Corporation, bearing inscriptions on both sides, and which has already been described to this Society by Mr. Fretton, the Coventry Antiquary.

It is to be regretted that the incomplete, though valuable, collection of coins, tokens and medals in the Birmingham Art Gallery are not made the most complete in the country so far as the specimens of Birmingham are concerned. The cost would not be more, if as much, as one good painting. There are many who take a deep interest in the subject, and would appreciate and support the Municipality in such a desirable addition.

The History of the Manor of Northfield and Weoley.

By FRANK S. PEARSON, LL.B.

25th March, 1896.

N a previous occasion I had the honour of reading a paper on the Manor of Northfield and Weoley in the reign of Hen. VI. In that paper I tried to place before you a picture of the Manor and its social life at a particular period. My object now is to give a brief sketch—it can be no more—of the History of the Manor.

During the last three years I have come to see the impossibility of writing a County History. The work is too vast; man after all is but mortal, and three score years and ten would not avail to grasp the life and history of ten centuries. Two things, however, we may do. We may index, preserve copy and publish every ancient document we can lay our hands on until we have accumulated a vast quarry from which each may dig the stones he requires with the minimum of labour. And, secondly, it is possible to put together a skeleton history of manors and towns, leaving each to fit on to that skeleton the particular particle of flesh he is interested in. This latter is my object. I fear I shall not be always interesting, there will be a great many dry bones about, but I will not be more dull than I can help.

The Manor of Northfield and Weoley was an important manor lying south-west of Birmingham, touching at its nearest point the City boundary at the Bournbrook on the Pershore Road about a hundred yards from the Old Peeble Mill and stretching away to Kitwell not far from Rubery. Practically, from a perambulation of the Manor in my custody, its boundaries are the same as those of the parish at present. It contained anciently three tithings:—Selly, Northfield, and Middleton—a name

still surviving in the Middleton Hall Road at Kings Norton. The Manor had always a peaceful and uneventful history, no battle was ever fought within its boundaries, no historic event ever happened there, no mighty family ever made it their home. Crossed by no main road it lay outside the stirring life of the times, even in Roman days only a minor road crossed it from west to east.

The last Saxon owner of the Manor was one Alwode or Alwolde, who held at the Conquest. In Domesday the Manor is said to contain six hides. In demesne 1 carnacate and a priest. There were 7 villeins, 16 bordarii, 6 cotarii, with 13 carucates and "there might be 5 more." There were two men servants and one maid. A wood half a league long and 3 quarantines broad. In the time of King Edward the Manor was worth £8, at the time of the Survey 100s. I presume per annum. What some of this means I confess I fail to perceive, but something we can make out. There was a priest and therefore almost certainly a church, a point to which I must refer again later. The priest was apparently maintained out of the Lords demesne. The bordarii and cotarii I think were privileged villein tenants, who held by *certain* services and may be fitly compared to the tenants in ancient demesne in later times. But why on earth should they refer to the number of servants kept, and who kept them? As a mere humble enquirer I should be thankful for an edition of the Domesday Survey with large and ample notes, for at present reading Domesday resembles eating trifle—interesting but not satisfying.

After the Conquest the Manor was granted to William Fitz Ansculf, as part of the vast possessions he held of his Lord the King in the Midlands. Who FitzAnsculf was and whence he came I know not, to me he is a name and nothing more. But certain it is that he was Lord of all that vast tract that lies between and comprises Birmingham, Dudley, Stourbridge and Bell Broughton. I think some of it he won by the strong hand, for in the Domesday Survey of Bell Broughton it is stated that that Manor had been Rafe Fitzhubert's for 5 years, then Fitzosbern unjustly took it, and at the date of the Survey Fitzansculf held it. As Habington, our earliest Worcestershire historian, whose name is ever to be held in reverence by all Worcestershire men, says :—"You see here how after the Normans and their associates had won thys land "from the Englysshe they fell out in dividing theyre praye which Domesdaye book "imparcially showethe and thoughe perhaps not able to redress the wronge yet "showethe the ryghte." Fitzansculf was the first Baron de Dudley and there no doubt his castle was, and with Dudley and the Baron of Dudley Northfield was for centuries inseparably connected. Fitzansculf—Lord of these vast possessions—died leaving no son, but only a daughter who married Somery, who either assumed in right of his heiress wife or was created Baron de Dudley. And now in tracing this ancient and knightly family of Somery I must I fear become what Habington so aptly termed himself with reference to this same family, "a screche owle hoveringe over the graves "of the dead." Very briefly the Manor was held by Roger Somery in the first year of Edward I. In the inquisition *post mortem* held on his death we get a most curious glimpse of the ways and customs of the times. Almost before the breath was out of

armorial bearings. The Manor belonged to the Berkeley family all through the Wars of the Roses. In the Roll of the Manor for the reign of Hen. VI. Sir Maurice is constantly mentioned as the Lord, in the 4th year of Edward IV. one Maurice de Berkeley was Lord, and then I come to a blank until in the 23rd year of the reign of Hen. VIII. it was sold to Edward Sutton, Lord Dudley thus returning, though only for a brief period, to the Lords of Dudley, whose original possession it had been. He only retained it for 4 years, and on the 27th April in the 27th year of Hen. VIII. it was sold by him to Richard Jerveys or Jervoys, citizen and Mercer of London for the sum of 1200 marks. The original conveyance, which has somewhat suffered in the lapse of centuries, and from which the seals have been removed, I have in my possession as steward of the Manor. The signature of the Lord Dudley is apparently that of an aged or feeble man, there are no witnesses to the deed. Taking the mark as worth 13s. 4d. the price was £800, and as the manor was rated in Edward VI. reign at £103 6s. 2½d. it was only about eight years' purchase, and Richard Jervoys, citizen and Mercer, does not seem to have made such a very bad bargain. In the Jervoys, or as it was afterwards written, Jervoise family the manor remained for many generations, and from the year 1623 onwards I have an authentic pedigree, which here follows:—

E, of Herriard
ncolns Inn, in
ex, Esq., died
Vill dated 26th
red 23rd Nov.

LUCIA, Married 1688, to Admiral Henry Killigrew, of St. Julians, in the County of Herts, Esq., both Living 1698.

SIR DANIEL O'CARROLL, of the Kingdom of Ireland, died before 1758. = ELIZABETH, by the d 5th Aug., 1729, 30th Dec 1739. Buried at West Bromwich. buried a Fields.

ELIZABETH,

CATHERINE, Living 1739. Died unmarried.

SIR DANIEL O'CARROLL, Living 1765, and had issue one Daughter.

JOH = KITTY, only Daughter and at length heir of Robt. Warner, of Bedhampton, Coy. Southton. Married there 12th July, 1763, died 25th Feby., 1772, aged 34. Buried at West Bromwich afore-d. 6th March following.
Joh
Yo

ANNE, only daur, Born 1731, Died unmarried, and was Buried at West Bromwich, 18th Septr., 1802, aged 71.

ROBERT CLARKE.

REV. SIR SAMUEL CLARKE JERVOISE.

	Date of Institution.	Registers.
Prior et Monachi	Prid. Kal. Nov., 1281	Giff. f. 121. a.
Cluniacis. Wolf	4 Kal. Martii., 1293	Ib. f. 376 b. and 378. b.
	Non. Feb., 1297	Ib. f. 424. b.
br.	24 Jun., 1343	Wolft. v. i. f. 51. b.
	3 Jan., 1345	Wolft. v. i. f. 93. b.
	27 Mar., 1355	Brian. f. 13. a.
	26 Julii, 1361	Ib. f. 34. b.
	5 Maii, 1371	Lyn. f. 14. b.
	5 Oct., 1375	R. sed. vac. f. 198 a. & b
	26 Julii, 1378	Wakf. f. 10. b.
	4 Oct., 1389	Ib. f. 61. b.
	21 Feb., 1423	Morg. f. 25. b.
	Sept., 1435	Bourch. f. 3. a.
	6 Jun., 1436	Ib. f. 13. a.
	17 Martii, 1438	Ib. f. 55. b.
Ep'us jure de vo cap.	4 Dec., 1479	Alcock. f. 60 a.
Edwardus Leves		In roll of Guild of St. Ann of Knowle in 1520
Ric. Bradeley, et	3 Jan., 1558	Pates R. 31. f. 31. b.
Elizabeth Reg.,	27 Julii, 1587	R. 32. Freak f. 60. a.
Ex. Concess. Th	1 Dec, 1639	R. 33. f. 17. a.
Carolus II. Re	11 April, 1661	R. 34. Mort. f. 7. a.
	A.D. 1662	Mon. In. Script.
	9 Aug., 1695	Ib. Stillingf. f. 59. b.
Thomas Jervoise	11 Dec., 1699	Ib. Lloyd. f. 70. b.
	16 Feb, 1705	Ib. Lloyd. f. 90. b.
	21 Oct., 1706	Ib. Lloyd. 91.
	11 Julii, 1713	Ib. Lloyd. f. 102. a.
Thomas Jervoise	21 Aug., 1742	Hough. p. 56.
Jervoise Clarke	20 April, 1779	North. p. 78.
George Fenwick	21 Nov., 1805	Hurd. p. 66.
Thomas Fenwick	16 Oct., 1833	Carr. p. 19.
Ralph Fenwick.	29 May, 1834	Carr. p. 22.
Stephen Barker	6 Dec., 1880	Philpote p. 20
Keble Coll, Oxf A.	5 May, 1891	Perowne.

The original line became extinct in 1767, and in 1777 Jervoise Clarke assumed the surname and arms of Jervoise by Act of Parliament in pursuance of the Will of his grandfather, Thomas Jervoise. His son, Thomas Clarke Jervoise, was again the last of his family, and on his death the Manor passed by purchase to the Ledsam Family of this City, in whose hands it still remains.

From the Lords of the Manor one turns naturally to the next most important man in the Parish—the Rector. Of the actual edifice of the Church itself I am not competent to speak. From the fact that Domesday mentions the Priest we may fairly assume that there was a church here as early as the Conquest. Probably nothing of the Saxon Church remains, though there is a small door now stopped up on the north side of the Church which Bishop Lyttleton, according to Nash, considered to be Saxon, it is I am informed more probably Norman. The East Windows are by Nash attributed to the reign of King John. What I am more interested in is the armorial bearings formerly in the church windows—now, alas, gone the way of all ancient glass in modern restorations. In the middle pane of the east window was a priest and doctor in a scarlet habit praying and the inscription "Shield me from "sin." In the East Window of the South Aisle in an escutcheon—I. Or: 2 Lions passant azure *Somery* quartering Argent a Cross crosslet azure *Malpas*. II. Or a Lion rampant gules *Charlton of Powes* quartering Argent a saltire engrailed gules *Typtote* or Typtoft. The third as the second and the first as the fourth.

In the second pane Or two lions passant azure *Somery* impaling Gules a cross moline Argent *Beke* quartering Sables a cross engrailed or *Ufford*. Over these two last a crescent azure as difference. On the top Dudley with quarterings. Formerly, according to Nash, in the side windows of the Chancel were the Twelve Apostles with an Article of the Creed inscribed under each.

From the very earliest times the Rectory of Northfield with the Chapelry of Cofton or Coston Hackett belonged to the Priory of Dudley. In the year 1297 there was a dispute between the Prior and Convent of Dudley and the Abbot and Prior of Halez (or Halesowen) respecting the Chapel of Frankley. It was ultimately settled by the Prior of Dudley quitting claim to the Chapel of Frankley while reserving to himself the patronage of the Rectory of Northfield and Chapel of Cofton Hackett. Thanks to the kindness of the Rector, Canon G. T. Hodgkinson, M.A., I think I am now able to give you a very complete list of the Rectors from that date onwards :—

The following notes may be of interest :—

Johannes de Chasteleyn 1297

It is a curious fact with regard to this Rector that he was instituted before he had taken full orders it appears from the Sede Vacante Register of the Diocese in which there was a certificate from that hard worked man the Prior of Worcester that John Chasteleyn was within a year from the time that the rule of the church was committee to him, ordained priest. It is not easy to say how this came to be. Probably ordinations were not held frequently.

Rogerus Knightleye 1361

I trust he was no relative of the Roger Kngthley Clericus who perpetrated the burglary on Easter Sunday 1446, and is presented for feloniously lying in ambush on the King's Highway for the leige subjects and being a common thief.

After— Johannes Longman alias Gylbert ... 1479

Then there came a gap of 79 years, but thanks I think to your Society the Guild Book of St. Ann of Knowle has been published, and there appears to have been

Ricardus Walker 1530

He is not mentioned in the Bishop's Register at all.

Johannes Hinckley 1662

This Dr. John Hinckley, D.D., is stated to have expended large sums on the defence of the rights of the Church, and to have rebuilt the centre of the parsonage. Two sons succeeded him—

Walter Hinckley 1695
John Hinckley 1699

The latter, following his father's example, rebuilt the two ends of the parsonage and all the glebe buildings both at Northfield and Cofton.

The present patrons are Keble College, Oxford. There was one very curious incident in the Manor of Northfield, when a villein tenant died the Lord and the Rector divided the Heriot, and this I have never met with anywhere else. Nothing, however, puzzles me more than this heriot custom. Of course in its original form the return of the warhorse, arms, plate of proof, on the death of the tenant, it is simple enough, but how on earth did the Church come in ; and still more, how do you explain a custom such as existed in Tatlington where the villeins owed heriots and they were to be raised by "sale of land and boys (puerorum) if occasion should arise."

It is extremely difficult in the case of a Manor like Northfield to know exactly where to begin and end its history. It has of itself no history and therefore its history is the more important. It sounds a paradox, but it is quite true. If I could only write the true history of this one Manor a great deal would have been done towards writing the history of many a hundred manors in the Midlands. But at present the task is beyond my reach, one gets an odd entry here and there, a court roll for one reign, and a few disjointed entries for another, and that is all. But now let me take one subject of enquiry—the inhabitants of the Manor. Referring again to

the Subsidy Roll of 1280 we find that there were 83 persons in the Manor who paid taxes, of these 8 were women. Going on through that black time that followed to the Subsidy Roll of 1327 we find that out of 24 persons 2 were women. This is an average of 1/11th, and curiously enough if you examine a modern rate book, or a list of persons assessed for income tax, you will find the proportion of women precisely the same.

There must have been a very considerable shifting of population even in feudal times. The more I have looked into the matter the stronger my conviction becomes that we do not sufficiently recognise this fact. At the very outside not more than 12 of the names in the roll of 1280 re-appear in 1327, that is to say in 1327 50 % of the inhabitants were new comers. Strangely enough two of the names which re-appear, and it must be borne in mind that in the second roll only those who were persons of means would be likely to have anything to pay taxes with are the names of serfs—Wodecoc. Surely this is strong confirmation that I was correct when in my last paper dealing with a time 120 years after, I said that the Woodcocs though born serfs were persons of considerable position and means. What is more, in 1327 they paid more than double what was paid by Johanne de Middleton, whose family then or after were Lords of the subsidiary manor or tithing of Middleton. Does not all this point to the fact that if we accept the strict legal position of the villein as being his actual position in the Middle Ages we should be as far off the truth as if we were to imagine that the villein's representative, the copyholder of to-day, is liable to be dispossessed at any moment because he is in theory merely tenant at the will of the Lord. Here in Northfield we have a family of serfs whom we can trace from 1280 to something like 1450, whenever we come across them the evidence goes to prove that they were people of means, and we know that in the reign of Hen. VI. all the more responsible offices of the Manor were filled by villeins and freemen without distinction. I submit that if this proves anything it proves that the villein was merely a tenant who held on a peculiar tenure and on special customs, and that the idea of any form of personal servitude is erroneous. About 10 of the 106 names in the two subsidy Rolls of 1280 and 1327 re-appear in the reign of Henry VI. Among them are Iddeshale, Atte Lye or Atteley, Woodcoc, Whatecrofte, Brokhole, Middleton. Some are obviously place names and may not represent the same family. One important family, the Jouettes, who were Lords of the tithing or Manor of Selly, came some time between 1327 and 1400. I may perhaps say here that I have little doubt that the old Manor House at Selly Hill, now converted into three cottages, was built by Thomas Jouettes in the reign of Hen. VI. By 1560, to judge from the parish registers, there was not one single family in the manor who had been there in 1320, and only nine who had survived 100 years. I think I have pretty fairly established a considerable change from time to time in the tenants of the manor lands.

I was, for some very insufficient reason, for a long time under the impression that the Middlemores were an ancient family in the Manor. This was quite a mistake, ancient though the family is and closely connected with the adjacent manors of

Yardley, Kings Norton and Edgbaston, their possessions in Northfield are all of recent acquisition. It is curious to note that until comparatively recent times no family of antiquity or note appears to have ever resided within the bounds of the Manor, at any rate other than the Lords of the Manor, and their residence was in all probability very far from being continuous. This is partly, I imagine, from tbe remote and then inaccessible position of the Manor. The King's highway did run through it, but judging from the frequent entries in the Manor Roll it was kept in a most shocking state. The tithing-man of Northfield and the tithing are continually being fined for having the bridge broken down and the road flooded. Both the Bristol and Pershore Roads are quite modern, and were made when quite a different state of things had arisen. Now the main traffic passes roughly north and south to and from Birmingham, then it ran east and west to and from Dudley and Stourbridge. Nobody wanted to go to Birmingham, on the contrary it was a place everybody avoided. If you look at an old itinerary or a book like the Journal of Lady Celia Fiennes, published under the title of "Through England as a Pack Saddle," you will see that she knew Droitwich well, and on her way north went from thence to Coleshill, leaving Birmingham well to the left. And so it always was; if you look at the old roads in the Manor of Northfield you will find they all run in a rough east and west direction, and it is the new roads that run north and south. For an account of the old Roman road which traversed the Manor I would refer you to the Paper on the subject by Mr. Howard S. Pearson and published in your transactions for 1890. The Roman Camp is stated by Hutton to have been near Bourn-Brook, and some remains of it existed in his time though he does not say what. Within the last few days I have heard that there are traces of an old moat in which Roman remains have been dug up at Bournbrook in a coppice close to Messrs. Cadburys' works. This is very interesting but I have had no time to enquire further. I understand that the land there is about to become the scene of a building experiment, so if any of my readers wishes to confer a great service in extending our knowledge of the old Roman road no time should be lost.

And now I come to a most difficult task. I have told you that this was a purely agricultural and pastoral manor, that with the tillage of its soil much of its history is inseparably woven and yet—so far—I have said but little of that soil and much of my time is gone. I could not possibly attempt to give you a picture complete in all its details from the 10th to the 17th centuy. Instead I will try to give a brief picture of mediæval life on the Manor. First as to the Lord. He, as I have said, probably spent but little time at one manor. Grossteste, Bishop of Lincoln, in his "Vide Les Reules Seynt Robert" says that the Lord must only stay a short time at each Manor lest he leave them in debt. Everything was home grown and home made, except perhaps wine, wax, plate, and robes. Even the wine and wax were in a measure home-made. At Cotheridge there was a vineyard, but not of great value (a house garden and vineyard were only worth 5s. per annum). And in the time of Hen. VI. we find swarms of bees figuring constantly among the Lords estrays. Among the

tenants we can hardly hope to unravel the subtle gradations of rank and tenure which none but those intimate with the manor and the times could understand. However, this I can be certain of. The arable land was split up into virgates and half-virgates among the farmers. First come the yeomen with their granges and virgates, then the small holders with half-virgates, then the bordarii and cottarii with their cottages and crofts, and last the mere labourers. Some of the time of the latter would be taken up with the customary services on the Lords lands, the rest on their own common fields. All this was cultivated in common, not even a virgate would provide work for the heavy team of eight oxen, and probably the heavier implements were owned in common. No doubt many of the tenants, even the free tenants, lived a hard life, and to them the day's service on the Lords demesne was a godsend with its regular allowance of meat and bread and drink. In Northfield besides the regular allowance they had a pig for division among the labourers, and after harvest there was the immemorial harvest-home with lashings of meat and drink for all and leave to bring a friend. From spring to harvest life was not so bad. There were fowls and eggs, garden stuff snch as cabbages and onions, honey and some fruit. But during winter the lot of the poor tenant was a hard one. A mud hut with openings for light that had to be closed in windy weather, no chimneys, with a rotten sheepskin for coverlet. Then as the corn and garden stuff grew less came that long fast on salt meat and fish with the consequences of scurvy and leprosy. Mercifully in many a manor there was the Abbey and Monastery, and many a Lady Bountiful whose larder was open to the poor and needy, the blessed ancestress of a long line of dames who will never die out so long as English ladies live. One can imagine how that "in-field," the villiens own land was watched with painful anxiety as the wind shifted. Just as I look towards the Lickey to see what the weather is going to be, so for generations they looked with sickening expectation, for on the success of the crops life and death hung. Do you wonder in this hand-to-mouth life that they took microscopical care that all should share and share alike. In Northfield we can be certain that the common field was cultivated first on the Two Course and later on the far superior Three Course or Trinity system—winter crop, spring crop and fallow. No roots you see, when root crops came in English agriculture was entirely revolutionised. Each of the three divisions was divided into the 10 acre strips or bourlays and again into the one acre strips. Every tenant had a strip or strips in each field, not the same every year but dotted about to ensure absolute equality so that each in his turn should share the good and the bad ground. So it was in the Shendley and Bartley Fields. In the Gyggans or Gygauntez Meadows the tenant had a share of the meadow hay crop or pasturage on the aftermath to fatten his cattle, for the crop the strips were balloted for, and for the pasturage they had the old common in shack. A free tenant would pay a shilling an acre for a part of his land and a pound of pepper worth 10d. for the rest. The one miller paid for his mill £3 6s. 8d. per annum, the other 20s. Oxen alone would be used for the plough I expect, they were better than horses for the heavy undrained land, they never stop and they cost far less to keep. It is said

that a horse in mediæval times cost 12s. 5d. a year to keep, an ox 3s. 1d. Some no doubt can recall to mind cases where oxen were used for ploughing in the heavy clay country in our own times. The yield was probably not any more than a quarter to the acre, the straw was reckoned to pay for the threshing—it was of little use except for thatching, for the use of manure they understood but very little. The management of the live stock was completely different, there were no roots. I think the cattle were very poor in Northfield, they never milked after Michaelmas. Most of the milk went to make cheese. In an age when there was no tea and coffee perhaps people did not think much of milk. Pigs were largely kept, in Northfield they paid 1d. for panniage in the lords park for a large pig and ½d. for a little pig. Probably cider was made and a good deal of oil from nuts. The whole Manor was self-supporting. We should probably be amazed at the small amount of actual money owned or spent by even a De Somery. And it was this fact that led to the tremendous importance of the Seneschal or Steward. My predecessor in the office would be certainly a man of good family, a man with a good knowledge of law—an absolute necessity in that most litigious age. He must be a good accountant, our ancestors kept accounts with an absolutely irritating accuracy. He had to have a good knowledge of agriculture for he was responsible for the management of the demesne lands. Probably he was more the Scotch "Factor" than anything else. A courteous, polished, keen man of business and a valued companion among that chivalrous and exclusive clan which demanded his services.

Slowly and gradually however a vast and silent revolution was taking place, a revolution in which the Black Death and Watt Tyler's Rebellion were only incidents. The Lord was ceasing to be the Feudal Lord and becoming the modern Landlord, and the tenant was no longer the man at arms but the modern farmer. You can fix no dates in Northfield, the change is only marked by the introduction of leases and the more frequent mention of money, you hear of the fish silver instead of the fish, the wood silver instead of the wood, the poultry are all assessed at so much value, until one sees clearly how in the 14th century rent is taking the place of services. What is it due to? I should say in a measure to the gradual growth of wealth. As soon as ever money is accepted in lieu of service, a large amount of produce is set free for sale. Fairs and markets spring into prominence, the one acts and re-acts on the other to the great increase of national wealth aud the utter destruction of the old feudalism. And you must remember that in Northfield we are within very easy reach of the Great Fair of Stourbridge, the centre of the trade with Flanders. And it was in the fairs that the trade of the period I am so inadequately sketching, was done. Private dealing was actually discouraged, and for many good reasons, which I have not time to dwell on. The time when the local butcher nailed his meat to the church door and folded his cattle in the church-yard (Statute of Winchester) for all comers on the Sunday to see had gone by. And again in wool a great export trade was growing up. To refer again to that Roll of 1327 you will find that the Manors which could carry sheep, and especially Cotswold sheep, suffered far less in those black years about

1320 than the rest of the County. All these things tended more and more to alter the actual condition of the Manor and its Tenants. In the Manor with which I am dealing you see plainly how in the 14th century the landlord begins to let instead of cultivate his lands, and by the end of the 15th century all but the home farm of the Lord is in the hands of the yeomen as free tenants by deed according to the custom of the Manor. Then after the Wars of the Roses, which dealt the final blow, comes another mighty change. The inclosure system began to break up the old common field system, the Manor is acquired by a wealthy London mercer who had made a fortune in days when nobody was ashamed of being in trade. William de Trumpington, Abbot of St. Albans, was not above going into the herring business, and De La Pole, descendant of a Hull merchant, had even before this date been heir-presumptive to the Crown. Richard Jervoys buys the Manor of Northfield for 1000 marks, and all through the County we see the new families coming in partly by purchase, partly through that distribution of the Church lands which on the dissolution of the Monasteries was the alternative to a rebellion that would have cost Henry his Crown. With the great monastic land owner there went a great feature of mediæval life, and yet it is strange how small a disturbance the great upheaval caused.

And now in the 16th century what is the state of things? Worse and yet better. The new owner is not the old lord, his commercial instincts lead him to treat the manor as he treated his shop—an engine for making money. There is none of the old personal feeling, the ancestral affection between the Lord and his tenants. The Rolls teem with lawsuits, the office of Steward must have been enough to turn a man's hair grey. The new-comer could not understand why it was one man paid a red rose and a pound of pepper, while another for far inferior land was paying a heavy rent. Often the state of affairs would become so irksome that in a manor lord and tenants would meet and revise the manorial rents and customs in a special court. But in return new ideas, new plants, new buildings, are introduced. There seems to have been in Northfield a great tendency to lay down as much permanent pasture as possible, both wool and wheat were dear, but the former was the dearer, and everything was given to the sheep. Still there was a great improvement in 1588, penalties were imposed on all who built new cottages without 4 acres of land attached to them, under new methods of agriculture the land would yield 20 busheld of wheat per acre and veal and bacon supplemented the winter fare. Probably the Tudor farmer had as good a dinner as the small tenant farmer has to-day. In sixteenth century times the land in Northfield was as to-day almost invariably let on Michaelmas tenancies. If time served I could give you a lengthy account of a farm at this time even down to such small details as sending out a boy with a bow or a girl with a sling to scare the birds, and how the sheep-dog worried the lambs. "Watch therefore in Lent; to thy sheepe go looke for dogs will have vittels by hooke "or by crooke."

But I fear these agricultural details will have exhausted your patience. In them however the history of this Manor is largely contained, and without them the briefest

and baldest sketch, such as mine has been, of its history would be too grossly incomplete. Life is made up of little petty details, and mediæval life is I think especially so. Of the later history of the Manor my present intention is not to speak. There is much that is interesting, but I thought that probably the earlier history of the Manor, which is more inaccessible, would be the more interesting.

The Heraldry of Warwickshire.

BY THE REV. W. K. R. BEDFORD, M.A.

18th November, 1896.

TO attempt to cover the whole field included under the title of the Heraldry of Warwickshire would take the days of Methuselah, the patience of Job, and the tedious industry of that worthy recorded by Southey, who having spent his life in commenting upon one of the Hebrew prophets, went to his grave with the full tale of three score and ten years completed—yet his design unfinished. I can but give you an *excursus* into what I once looked upon as a region to conquer. I did once ambition the task of compiling an index (an ordinary as it is called by Heralds) to Dugdale's Warwickshire and to the monumental escutcheons still existing in the churches and halls of our county, but even had I been able to carry out my design I fear that the voluminous catalogue would have been far too dry for an occasion like the present. I propose to offer to you a few thoughts of my own in reference to the much misunderstood topic of heraldry, illustrating my observations by examples which the kindness of friends, Mr. Pickard especially, enables me to offer.

No better definition was ever offered to us than that Heraldry is the shorthand of History—in painting and sculpture—costume or banner, designating the politics, religion and taste of successive generations. Far into the mist of antiquity we may trace this language in token and hieroglyphic. The first heraldic figure is the hereditary chieftain tatooed with the emblem of the tribe, as in Fenimore Cooper's

novel, the Great Tortoise is discovered impressed upon the breast of Uncas, or as in the much ridiculed lines of Blackmore—

> A painted vest Prince Vortiger had on
> Which from a naked Pict his grandsire won.

Of these old tribal signs which send us back to pre-historic times, Warwickshire boasts of one, the bear and ragged staff, which is not, as Shakespeare erroneously would have us believe, the hereditary crest of any family which has held the title of Earl of Warwick, but the symbolic emblem of the Arth, or bear, from which we obtain the softened form of Arden.

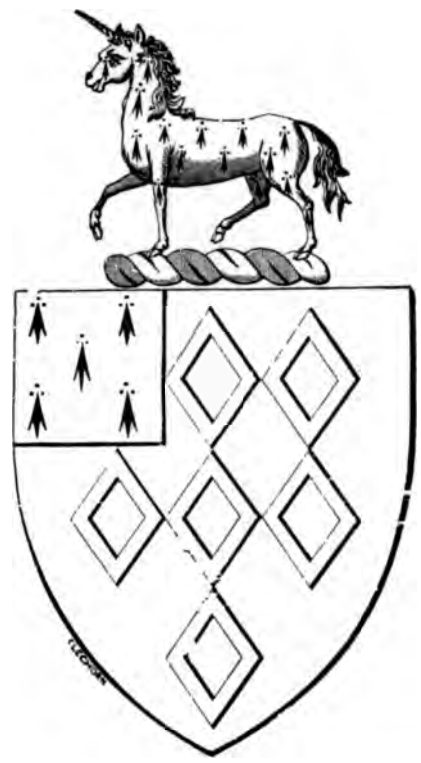
Whether the Earls were of the patronymic of de Newburgh, Beauchamp, Nevil, Dudley, Rich, or Greville, they have all assumed this badge, and all no doubt with equal right, except perhaps the family of Rich, who never held the castle, and who should therefore, I think, have restricted themselves to the ancestral crest of a greyhound's head. The College of Arms, established by Richard III. (himself allied by marriage to the "Renowned Warwick," Nevil, the kingmaker), did in the last century grant, as they had an undoubted right to do, the bear as a crest to Lord Brooke on his elevation to the Earldom of Warwick, but this could not restrain the right of the county at large to consider it the Warwickshire badge, nor ought any restriction to be placed upon its use.

The Dudley Earl of Warwick, who on the extinction of the Plantagenet Earls was invested with the title, is better known by that to which he attained as Duke of Northumberland. He too died on Tower Hill, and his son Ambrose having been restored in 1561, enjoyed the title of Warwick for life, and survived his heir and younger brother, Robert Earl of Leicester.

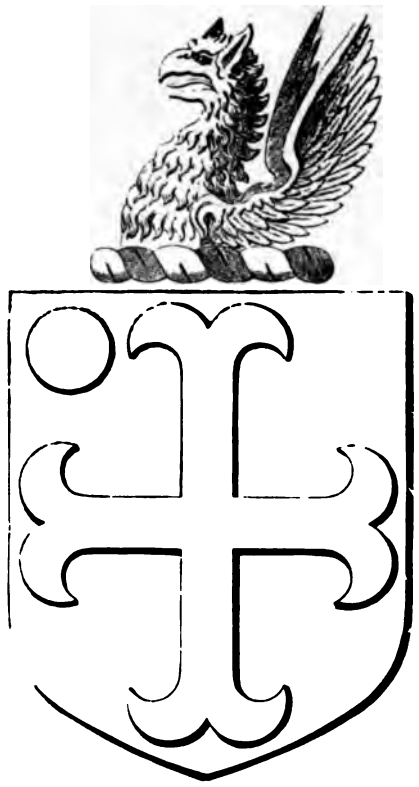
The Newburgh arms were those traditionally appropriated to the legendary Earl Guy of Warwick, and were the subject of great pride to his successors in the Plantagenet era. We see them displayed on the sails of the ship of Richard Beauchamp, the stout Earl who fought at Agincourt and was the trusty counsellor of Henry VI.'s minority. Observe too that a slightly different arrangement only distinguishes them from the arms of Arden, the ancient family whom the Newburghs ousted from the premier position in Warwickshire. In the Arden Arms the chequered fess or band traverses an ermine field, while the Newburgh banner was chequered and the chevron ermine.

This predominance of one great house inducing a similarity in the arms of other families dependent upon it in greater or less degree, is one of the features of early English Heraldry. In Scotland the Bruces of Annandale bore arms which were assumed with slight alteration by Johnstones, Kirkpatricks, and other minor barons. In Leicestershire the Conqueror's farrier impressed upon the Ferrers family and many of its connections the bearing of the horseshoe in one shape or another, while

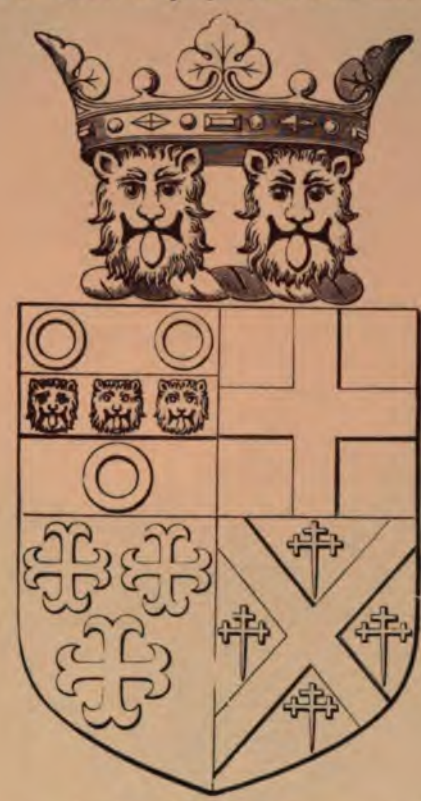
our Warwickshire Ferrers, the lord of Baddesley, adopted another art of the worker in iron, the mascle, which represented the linked armour of the Norman knights.



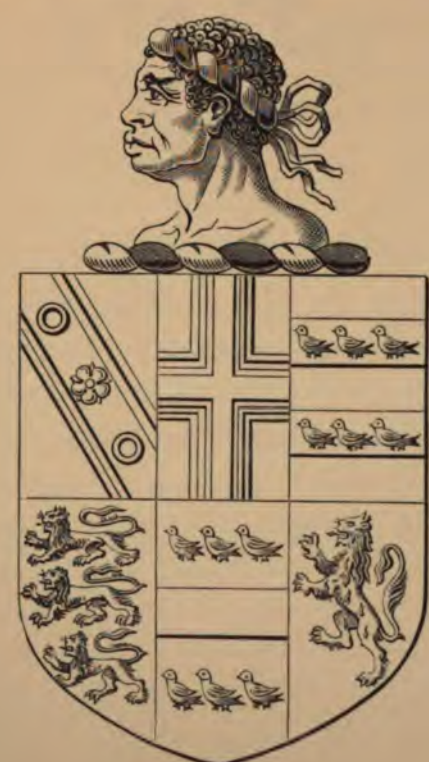
Armorial bearings were in the first instance entirely military, and regular heraldry as now understood only dates from the Crusades. In the Bayeux Tapestry the great men are represented as carrying shields ornamented with borders, studs, and crosses—the metal or wooden strengthenings of the shield itself: and these objects, but a little more formal in drawing and arrangement, figure in armorial bearings after heraldry had become a science, and the blazoning of shields was regulated by a grammar. Perpendicular lines, the pale; horizontal, the fess; angular, the chevron; borders, escarbuncles, and varieties of the cross and saltire; all those geometrical figures called ordinaries, and associated with imaginary qualities in heraldic books of the Elizabethan era, were ingenious modifications of the constructive part of the shield, coloured and gilt, so as to be ornamental and conspicuous. Take for instance the cross in the shield of the Dugdale Family It is exactly what an ingenious worker in metal would strengthen his shield with; but it is the same pattern which we find on the shield and flag of the first Bishop who used arms—the fighting prelate of Durham, Anthony Bek, the Patriarch, who commanded an army under Edward I.



As to the animals in heraldry. At the battle of Hastings only one creature appears; and that on the Saxon side, the red dragon—a fabulous crocodile with wings and four legs generally, but in this case represented with two. It figures in modern Warwickshire heraldry as the crest of the late representative of an ancient family—Lord Somerville; a title now in abeyance. The legend runs that a "worm" infested a district in Scotland, and was killed by the ancestor of the Somervilles, but their undoubted relative (the poet of the Chase) to whom they succeeded, bore quite different arms. The Scottish Somervilles bore three stars on a crossletted field; their Warwickshire branch, now extinct, placed on a fess between three annulets three lions' heads leopardee, as the early heralds (who could only conventionally represent a lion in profile) called a full-faced *leo*.

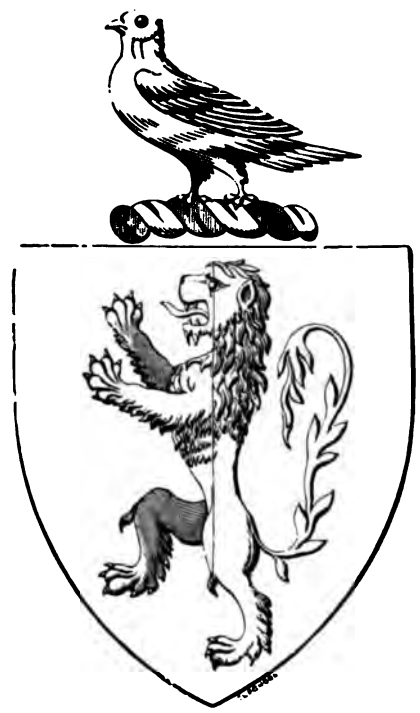


A comparison between the lions' faces above and the lions quartered by the Warwickshire family of Conway, now represented by the Marquess of Hertford, will illustrate my meaning.

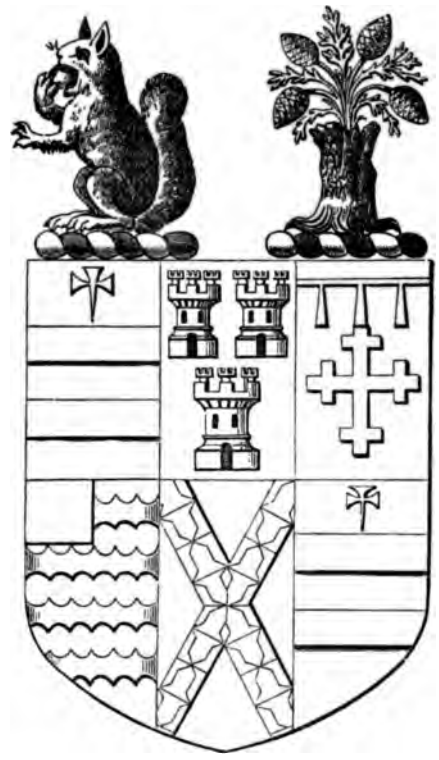


The lion came into English arms with the Crusades—as may be seen on the shield of Richard I., where the lion is rampant. On his helmet the lion is passant-leopardee

The heralds found it convenient to prescribe the climbing or rampant attitude as most appropriate to the king of beasts, as in the arms of Dilke.

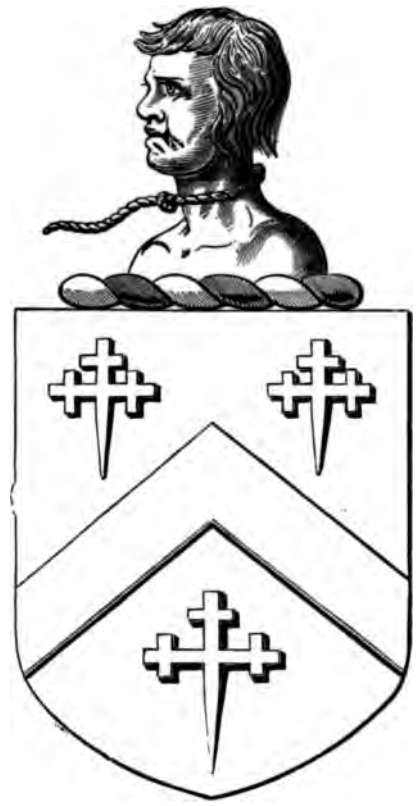


Soon however other beasts and birds found their way into shields and crests; first of all those of prey, eagles, bears, wolves, falcons, &c.; then pacific creatures as the dove (Dilke), or the crest of Holte of Aston, the squirrel. This, however, is a specimen of a later and perhaps less pure style in heraldry.

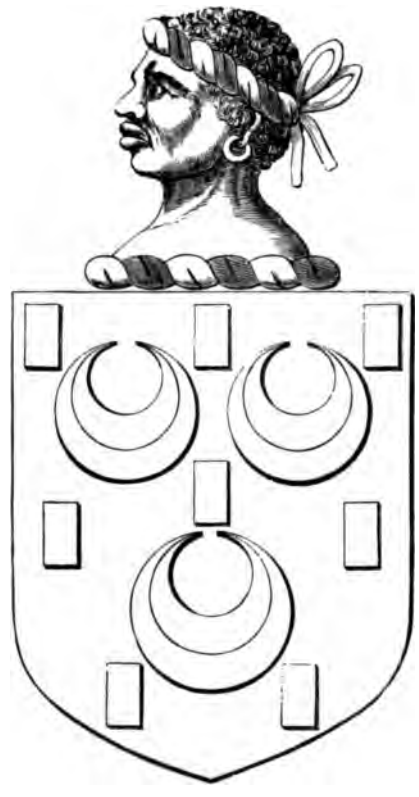


There is no doubt that the palmy days of heraldry ended with the time when coats of arms were actually articles of clothing worn over the armour. The disuse of surcoats and of shields sent armory back to banners, windows, carving and engravings on plate and seals. The effect of this was that the Tudor Heralds multiplied objects on the shield, accumulated quarterings, and gave crests which would never have been considered suitable for the top of the helmet, as being not conspicuous enough, or unsuitable to the battlefield.

The hanged man's head, for instance, the crest of Davenport, said to have originated from the Cheshire family, who executed the power of capital punishment in the hundred of Wirral, would never have been perched upon the top of a helmet, any more than the negro's head of Conway or of Colmore, although that head may have been a highly prized distinction in the 17th century as derived from an ancestor who had fought for the cross in Asia or Africa.



Crests however were probably quite military distinctions, as cockades are now. Clergymen had no crests, nor had corporations, cities, or public bodies.



In the beginning of the seventeenth century the heralds introduced the practice of visitations of arms. One was held by Camden for this county in 1619, and was edited for the Harleian Society by the late Mr. John Fetherston, from whose excellent heraldic drawings these illustrations are taken. These visitations however are imperfect, inasmuch as some of the best families either neglected to attend, or disclaimed arms to save their fees.

But still many fine heraldic remains of this period adorn our county, in the shape of windows of painted glass, escutcheons on monuments, figures of animals and other objects carved and painted on the walls, stairs, and roofs of our old houses. Of some of these I have exhibited photographs, and I trust that most valuable undertaking the Photographic Survey will prove the means of preserving many of them.

We have in Warwickshire one heraldic document which, though comparatively modern, is quite unique and exceedingly interesting.

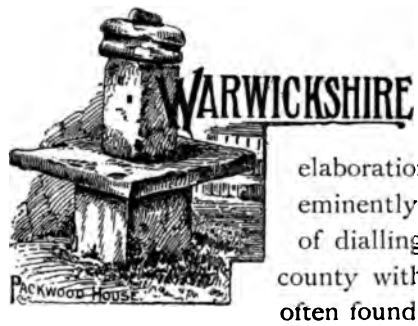
When the fourth Earl of Aylesford founded the Woodmen of Arden in 1785, he did not forget that branch of heraldic science which dealt with devices, impresses, and liveries, and each person elected to that society had to register his arrow-mark and received a diploma entitling him to bear upon his arrows a certain device depicted in the margin and recorded on the roll of the Forest.

Diplomas ceased to be granted about 1830, but Mr. Fretton, of Coventry, prepared them up to that date. The roll is still continued, and that which embraces the first century of the Society was in 1885 completed and mounted, and by the kindness of Canon Waller I offer it for your inspection. It is unique, no other archery society having such a document.

The Sundials of Warwickshire.

BY E. C. MIDDLETON.

16th December, 1896.

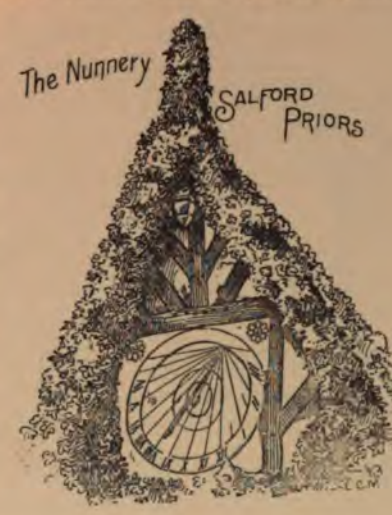


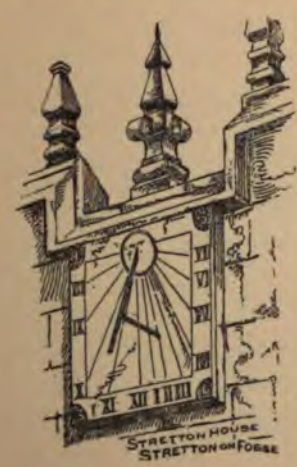
WARWICKSHIRE is certainly not rich in Sundials, there are no unusual, or striking examples either in design, elaboration, size, or in fact in any way whatever; all are eminently practical, designed in fact for utility. The art of dialling would never seem to have been pursued in our county with that zeal which led to the bewildering confusion often found in dials in other portions of the country. Norfolk Yorkshire, Devon, and Cornwall stand pre-eminent for their dials, and in the eastern counties they are much better cared for and attended to than in our own immediate locality. While Warwickshire has been content with the simple pedestal dial, in other parts have been erected dials which we are tempted to think have served rather as an outlet for the pedantry of the designer than ought else. As an instance among many may be mentioned the dial column which stood in the privy garden of Whitehall Palace, erected for Charles II. in 1669 by a Jesuit—Father Lyne. This column bore no less than 271 different dials, a very minute description of which is to be found in our Reference Library. Of the cost of this example we have no known record, but when Allingham, a mathematician, was consulted, in 1710, as to its repair, he asked no less a sum than £500. With all this expense and elaboration, as a time teller it would be in no way superior to our simplest horizontal dial. The exposed situations in which dials are usually and necessarily placed is conducive to their rapid decay and obliteration, especially if neglected. And it is this rapid effacement that has led to my attempt to catalogue those still to be found in our county. The old diallist clearly foresaw this, and each practitioner had his secrets for compounding his plaster, preparing his stonework, or mixing his colors. He tempered his lime and mortar with linseed "oyl" with the assurance that it would "become as hard as stone and last many ages," or in country districts where linseed oil was not readily obtainable he relied on "scum'd milk," with which he also mixed his glue if his dial were to be of wood, assuring us that it "binds beyond any other glue and is better able to resist the weather."

Another authority assures us, it is better to temper the lime, sand, and hair with ox blood "which will be no great charge, but of great advantage." The instructions for compounding the paints are most precise, and definite rules are laid down as to the colours in which the hour lines, the figures or chapters, and the "furniture" —as the diurnal arches, the azimuths planetary hours, and signs of the zodiac—are to be painted; but this is of the past, for in Warwickshire I know of no dial that

has been painted for years. When such painting is entered upon, it is always better to re-calculate the dial, and paint entirely afresh, rather than rely on the old painting as a guide—the exact need for this requires the education of an astronomer to appreciate. It may be a realisation of this fact, and a lack of knowledge as to the exact method of procedure that first led to the neglect which, coupled with the ravages of time and the triumphal march of the cheap clock, have almost obliterated our dials.

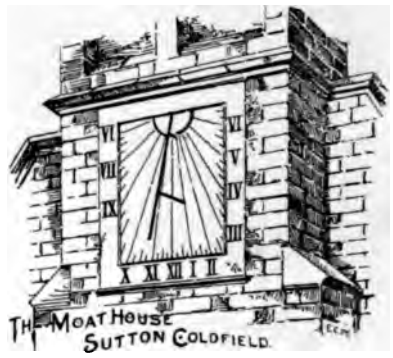
In his "Essays to Elia," Charles Lamb compares "The simple altar-like structure and silent heart language of the old dial" with such "a dead thing as a clock with its ponderous embowellments of lead and brass," and urges that its beauty might well have pleaded for its continuance. Certainly I think many a time a blank wall might have its blankness removed, or at any rate very pleasantly disguised by a suitably designed dial, if architects would but consider the idea. How much the picturesqueness of a gable may be enhanced by a dial may possibly be conjectured by the sketch of that over the gateway entrance of the old mansion at *Salford Priors*, where the overgrowth of ivy and the half timber assist in forming a picturesque whole. Dials take their name from the position in which they occur, in all vertical north and south dials the meridian or twelve o'clock line is always vertical. This dial is not true south, but turns or "declines" towards the east, it is in fact very nearly south-east, in the language of the diallist it is a south vertical dial declining east 40°. The figures upon it are now nearly lost, and illustrate a second reason why old figures should not be implicitly relied upon, for at some period a mistake has been made, 2 o'clock having been put at 1-30, and 3 o'clock where 2 o'clock should have been.





It is at such old mansions as that at Salford that one may most confidently look for dials. There is one at Ilmington Manor House, below Stratford-on-Avon, a house said to have been built by Sir Thomas Overbury, who was murdered in the Tower—a murder which led to the trial of the Duke of Somerset, the Countess of Essex, the Governor of the Tower, and others. Near Ilmington, at Stretton on Fosse, is *Stretton House*, built in the manner and of the materials peculiar to the district. Above the portico is another south dial declining west some 20°. In the same district, at Halford Bridge, and near the old Manor House and the Church is an old stone cottage with a dial formed of part of the chimney. The figures are now obliterated and the ground

alone remains. This dial and another at the *Moat House, Sutton Coldfield*, built by Sir William Wilson, the assistant of Sir Christopher Wren, are the only dials I have actually seen in the county in such positions. I have heard there is a third at the "Glass House" between Packwood and Lapworth. But from the fact that there are several mottoes suitable for such positions, as—



"Fumus et umbra sumus"
"We are smoke and shadow,"

such instances are possibly not rare.

The Sutton dial referred to is rather large and is a south vertical declining west about 12°.

At the *Old Red Lion Inn, Fenny Compton*, is another dial, bearing a mottoe "Ut umbra sic vita"—

"As a shadow so is life,"

a very favourite motto met with from Kent to Cornwall and from Whitby to the Isle of Man, and as it is found in Suffolk and Derbyshire too it may be considered well distributed. The dial also illustrates the proper method of placing a dial which has apparently been designed for some other position; so long as a dial is placed in position with regard to the points of the compass it was designed for, it will correctly tell the time; that is, as correctly as a sun-dial does, for it must be borne in mind than an ordinary dial even when properly constructed only tells the clock time upon four occasions in the year. The notable occasions being about April 15th, June 15th, Sept. 1st. Dec 25th, and then it is correct at noon only. There is an error from refraction which is greatest at 6 a.m. and p.m. but disappears at noon. The error of the dial, as compared with Greenwich, amounts to a total of over half an hour, as about Nov. the 5th the dial is ahead of the clock 16½ minutes, and about Valentine's day it is 14½ after the clock. Then, too, we must bear in mind that dials are usually constructed to shew local time, and as that is 4 minutes faster or slower than Greenwich for each degree east or west a further 8 minutes must be allowed for Birmingham's slowness, or westerly position. Having thus referred to some of the shortcomings of the dial, we may return the compliment by referring to the shortcomings of Greenwich time, usually considered so exact, and so exacting. It was scarcely to be expected that the motion of the earth would be quite such a mechanical matter as an ideal clock. There is a little license, here and there, that would seem to be sufficient to render a clock shewing solar time an impossibility. Our astronomers therefore devised Greenwich Mean time. They discarded the old sun and imagined a new one. Then it was not to be expected that this new sun would run in the old track, which gives us our

seasons, and they started the imaginary sun round an imaginary track, a track which if followed by the sun would abolish all seasons, and give us a perfectly uniform day and night, always of one length according to our latitude. Owing to the differences of the courses these two suns could not run side by side, so the astronomers averaged matters and gave their imaginary sun an imaginary time to travel round an imaginary course, and the result was an error of nearly a quarter of a day at the end of the year. Then to use up these odd quarters, these remnants, every four years an extra day is interpolated, and leap year sets us nearly right, but not quite, as a full day over corrects it—so our ingenious friend foregoes his extra day every hundred years, and leap year is omitted, but as this is inaccurate also, every fourth hundred he re-inserts it; but even this does not quite hit it, and in spite of all these "tinkerings" poor Father Time—of Greenwich—has still an error in his gait which will amount to one day in 3,866 years. Returning to our dial at Fenny Compton, and having pointed out that it is a correct time teller although designed for some other spot, we may refer to an iron dial at Snitterfield, placed on the south side of the nave over an older dial that had been painted on the wall. The dial itself is a true south one and the wall not being due south, instead of placing the dial out of parallelism with the wall to an amount equal to the declination, the man who fixed it has endeavoured to meet the matter by declining the meridian from a vertical position, so that the dial cannot perform correctly, nor can time very well be estimated from it. Returning to Fenny Compton we may cross the railway to Wormleighton Manor House; high upon the Gatehouse entrance is a gnomon and dial stone, the remains of a dial at which Prince Rupert may have wistfully gazed ere setting out for Edge Hill. With hard knocks in view the Prince might have considered the old motto, "It is more blessed to give than to receive," as appropriate to the occasion had the dial borne it.

From Wormleighton we may visit the fine old Tudor Mansion built by Sir William Compton—*Compton Wyniates*—where there are three dials, one over the principal entrance, another bearing the motto "Sic Vita Transit," "So passes life."

And if it passes half as pleasantly as the situation and surroundings warrant, it would pass pleasantly indeed. In addition to the two annual dials alluded to, there is a horizontal *pillar dial* of very graceful outline in the garden.

At another fine old mansion—*Baddesley Clinton*—in a corner of the garden almost overgrown with raspberry canes, sweet Williams, and other old-fashioned border plants, is another pillar dial less graceful than the last, but no more appropriate motto could be found or devised than "Amyd'st ye flowers I tell ye hours."

Charlecote, too, has its dial on the wing facing the south, but it bears no motto. Warwick is fairly rich in dials, although the one referred to in the churchwardens' account for 1676, in connection with St. Mary's Church, and for which "sunne dyall" the sum of £4 was paid, is no longer to be traced. There is one at the *Castle*, one on the *Leycester*

Hospital, and another at the *Priory*. The latter has a motto "I mark the moments trod for good or ill." It bears the initials T.H., and date 1556. It is a very picturesque example, and is given by Mrs. Gatty as the oldest dated dial but one, the earliest being at Rochdale and dated 1521. Referring to our Warwick dial I regret to say that enquiry reveals the fact that it was painted about 30 years ago to fill up a blank space. I am inclined to class this, and the other two referred to, as works of an artist rather than a diallist. There is the pillar of a dial in the Priory Garden, the gnomon and plate were stolen when it stood at Sparkbrook, but there is hope of its restoration.

In front of Castle Bromwich Hall, the residence of Lord Newport, stands a pillar dial. There is another on the lawn of Miss Adcock's house, near the site of the Old Church, Water Orton.

At *Arbury*, the Cheverel Manor of George Eliot, is a fine dial bearing the motto 'Life's but a walking shadow," a quotation from *Macbeth*. This motto and slight variations are met with from one end of England to another. The remains of a pedestal dial are also in the gardens at Arbury. At Bilton Hall, near Rugby once the residence of Addison, is a pillar dial very elaborately marked with equations of time; another is to be found in front of the farmhouse near the ruined Church of Newnham Regis; and at Cawston Lodge is the most elaborate dial in the county. It is modern, being erected in 1863 by Lady Jane Scott, and bears the arms of the Scott and Spottiswood families. The inscription is—

United in time, parted in time,
To be re-united when time shall be no more.

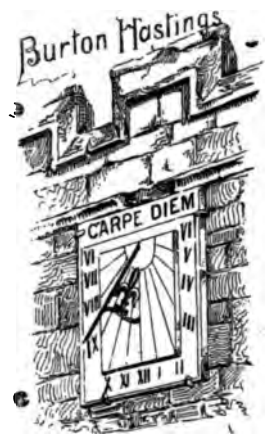
And in panels the names of John and Alice Scott.

At *Farnborough House*, South Warwickshire, the residence of Archdeacon Holbeche, is another upon a fluted and carved pediment, the dial elaborately engraved. Another stands in the garden of Mr. Robbins, of West Hill, Leamington. It is an old

plate upon a new pedestal and bears the motto "Hora non numero nisi serenas"—"I count the bright hours only." Near by, in the garden of Cubbington Vicarage was erected a dial in July 1896, bearing the motto "I mark time, dost thou?" In the courtyard of *Maxtoke Castle*, near Deadman's Tower, is a dial of not very graceful outline. So far we have alluded to our old manor houses and mansions, but churches and churchyards are even more prolific in dials. The necessity of some instrument to regulate the duties of religious houses would early be forced upon the authorities. It

is recorded that monks who had carefully regulated and timed their "going" by the aid of a sundial during the daytime remained awake during the night and repeated so many psalms per hour, and so knew at what time to awaken the Brothers. Pope Sibinianus who succeeded Gregory the Great issued an edict that clocks—waterclocks of course—and dials should be placed upon churches, and the custom so created has maintained to the present day.

At Arley there is an ordinary south vertical dial, high upon the nave. One in a similar position at Wootton Wawen has slight signs of a motto, but I think it is effaced beyond recognition. Wichford, near Long Compton, and Napton on the Hill, also have plain dials in similar positions. One at *Burton Hastings* bears as motto "Carpe Diem"—"Seize the day." The same motto, which is not uncommon, was formerly to be seen at Offchurch on the south side of the Tower. The motto is now lost, but William Snow, churchwarden, and the date 1791 are fairly distinct. There is a small dial over the fine Norman door at Whitchurch, near a carving of the Agnus Dei. On the south side of *Packwood* tower is a dated dial. Bickenhill, Berkswell, Harbury near Leamington, Kineton, Castle Bromwich, Leamington Hastings, Newbold-on-Avon, and Loxley also have them in similar positions, that at Loxley however being near the top of the tower, an unusual position,

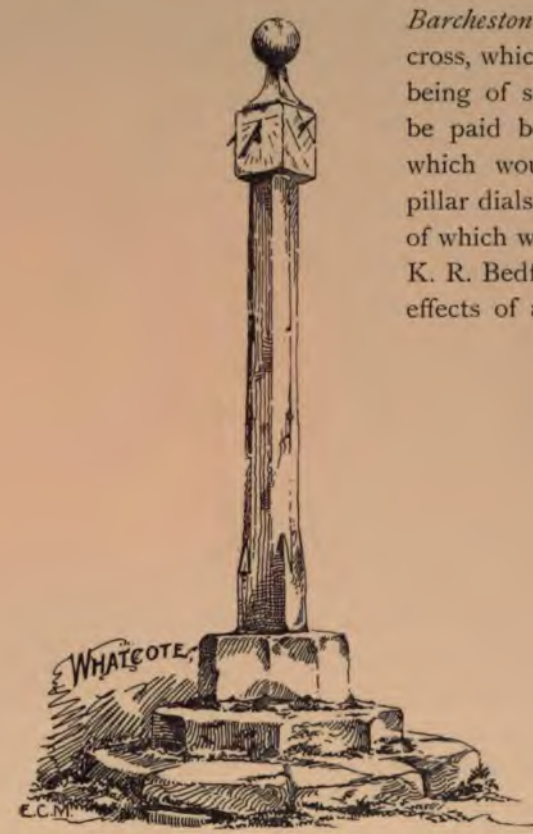


but adapted in this case on account of the fall of the ground. Sometimes the south-west buttress of the tower is utilised as at Farnborough, Grandborough, and Stoneleigh. On the porch at *Ladbrook* is the earliest dated dial I have found, it bears the name of R. Bold 1619. Another in a similar position bearing an inscription—

"So teach us to number our days, that we may apply our hearts unto wisdom," Psalm cx. 12, is at Mancetter, and there is another at Newbold-on-Avon, and also one at *Chesterton* bearing the curt injunction "See, and begone about your business."

At *Wolfhamcote* we find over the porch a cubical dial of different form to any of the others, it originally bore three dial faces—direct south, east, and west. I have already alluded to the church and the dial being so often associated. And there is also a further reason why they are so often associated with our churchyards, as pillar dials; for when the order for the destruction or stumping of crosses was given in the reign of Elizabeth, crosses were defaced and thrown down. These were eventually re-erected, modified and entered upon a new career as timekeepers. There is a fine example at *Whatcote*, the cubical head of which bears segnomons facing the cardinal points. Another striking example is at *Chaddesley Corbett* outside the county. There is, too, a a very fine shaft at Malvern, in which there is carved a niche, evidently for a figure. There is a tall pillar dial at Coughton, and a very elaborate one at *Oxford*. At

Barcheston, in South Warwickshire, is the foot of a cross, which forms a dial of unusual form, the gnomon being of stone. A legend exists that a tithe had to be paid before the sun disappeared from the face, which would be 6 o'clock. Of the ordinary short pillar dials there is one at Sutton Coldfield, the plate of which was restored to its position by the Rev. W. K. R. Bedford, it having been discovered amongst the effects of a late warden. There is one at Maxloke



Church on the north side, the plate dated 1886, and inscribed "Be thankful, watch pray, work." that has been restored. And one at Offchurch created out of an old font, and the stump without the plate remains opposite the west door at Kenilworth. On a house near Kingsbury Church there is a mural dial of common form, and there are the remains of one on a disused malthouse, standing near a dilapidated windmill, passed in making a journey from Knowle to the Packwood House. At the latter we find no less than 7 dials complete, and remains of others. A whole treatise on dialling might be illustrated from the examples to be found at this interesting and picturesque ld mansion. In front of the house is *a pillar dial* dated 1667. The cubical head faces the cardinal points, and thus we have 4 dials. In the court-yard or garden we have a large south dial declining east about 30 degrees, of which I give a sketch. In the garden is a curious stone seat, the square block of which has evidently borne gnomons by the leaded remains, but of their form nothing can be gleaned. On some of the

outbuildings facing the road is a dial of very unusual form—a north declininger

declining east about 80°. This bears a motto in which there is a mis-spelling, but the translation is "We rise up, we die."

On buildings on the opposite side of the road is yet another dial inscribed, "Septem sine horis"—seven without the hours.

The last dial I have to mention is at High Cross, the junction of Watling Street with the Fosse Way. In Dugdale's time there stood on this spot a long pole with four arms directing to Camden, Chester, York, and Bristol, and that was erected by Anthony Pont. In 1912 Basil, Earl of Denbigh, and other gentlemen erected what was known as High Cross. It was struck by lightning in 1791, and this slide represents all that remains, standing within a private enclosure. From this base there formerly sprung four round columns expressive of the four roads, and it still bears the the inscriptions in Latin, written by Greenway, a Coventry schoolmaster. The columns were surmounted by a cubical sundial, not however facing the cardinal points, and this in turn was surmounted by a globe and cross. This brings to a close my attempt

to catalogue the dials of our county. There are doubtless yet scores that I am unaware of hidden away in quiet corners, and adorning some of our ancient buildings or old-fashioned gardens. It is a matter of much difficulty to glean particulars, or even learn the whereabouts of such neglected subjects, but I trust this paper may arouse sufficient interest in the subject to enable us to prepare a complete catalogue.

Excursions.

TO PERSHORE, CROPTHORNE, AND FLADBURY.

30th May, 1896.

THIS, the first excursion of the season, and the one hundred and first of the series, was attended by thirty-four members.

The party left New Street at 1-50 in saloon carriages and arrived at Pershore Station at 3-40. Here they entered the carriages hired for the occasion and were driven to the Abbey Church. The exterior was first examined, when the marks of junction with the destroyed nave and domestic buildings, and the very beautiful details of the demolished "Chapel of the Sacred Relics" which remain attached to the walls of the south transept and the choir, were inspected with much admiration and interest.

On entering the church the attention of the visitors was directed to a very beautiful set of drawings, to a large scale, of the existing parts of the building, and a ground plan of the missing Norman nave. These drawings had been made by Mr. F. B. Andrews, who, by their aid, shewed that the nave was of very great length, and comprised ten bays; and what were the extent and arrangements of the domestic buildings, as far as can now be known. All that remains of the Norman work is in the lower part of what was the central tower, and the south transept. The four great arches which carry the tower are of a very bold and simple character. Some of the details of the transept are of so primitive and rude a character as to have led some to suppose they formed a part of the original pre-Norman structure, but this opinion was not supported by any of the present visitors.

The choir is an exquisite example of pure Early English work, but the groined roof is of the fourteenth century. The aisles are, however, covered by groining of the earlier period.

The party next visited Mr. William Pearce at his interesting and beautiful early

Georgian house, which is well worth seeing for the excellence of its internal decorations and fittings, all of which have been carefully preserved intact as they were left when the house was built. Here Mrs. Pearce very kindly refreshed the party with an excellent tea, after which Mr. Pearce exhibited tracings of some extremely curious wall paintings from Pinvin Church, and took his visitors to the bottom of his garden to see the beautiful river view and some very fine wrought-iron gates and railings of early 18th century date. The party then drove through Wick—where are some good half-timbered cottages, a circular dovecot, and the steps and tall shaft of a churchyard cross—to Cropthorne. The Vicar, the Rev. H. Wilkinson, met the party at the church, which is mainly Norman, with nave arcades of a very simple character with square soffits and cylindrical columns. The benches are of the 15th century with boldly traceried and carved ends. There are two Jacobean Monuments of very interesting character to "Dinsdales." A very fine carved head of a cross of early 12th century date was taken out of the wall of the chancel during some recent repairs.

A very pleasant walk of about a mile brought the visitors to Fladbury, where the church has been so much restored as to have very little left to interest the antiquary. It is of about the same date as Cropthorne, which in some respects it closely resembles.

Under the tower is a fine tomb with brass to a Throckmorton. By the kindness of the Rector the party were allowed access to the beautiful terraced garden of the Rectory—said to have been once a vineyard—from which there are beautiful views of the Avon. New Street was reached at about 10.30. The excursion was in every respect a success.

TO WINCHCOMBE, SUDELEY, AND BISHOP'S CLEEVE.

24th July, 1896.

A small party left Birmingham on Wednesday morning for Cheltenham, and then proceeded in carriages to Postlip, where a visit was paid to the charmingly situated and very interesting manor house. It is mainly of Elizabethan character but contains some remains of the 15th century. It has some good chimney pieces, and the courtyard is very picturesque and interesting. Near it is the chapel, a very small structure of the Norman period, of which it retains a fine chancel arch, enriched with chevron and other ornaments, and springing from shafted piers. The south doorway is of the same date and general character, and there are two or three Norman windows. The eastern and western windows are insertions of the latter part of the 15th century.

Over the chancel arch is a square bell turret of the 17th century. The roof of the nave is of late perpendicular character.

The drive was continued to Winchcombe Church, where the party were met by the Rev. John Taylor, who conducted them over the building. It is almost wholly of the 15th century, and has no features of very great interest. The church register is early, and well preserved, and the church plate interesting. Of the buildings of the Abbey, which was founded here in the eighth century, not a vestige remains, and even its site is uncertain. Dinner was served at the White Hart Hotel, and the party then walked to Sudeley Castle, which by the kind permission of Mrs. Dent, was carefuly inspected from without and within.

The ancient parts of the mansion and of the chapel are in ruins, and of them Leland wrote, "Now it goeth to ruinne more pittye." The modern apartments contain a great deal of good ancient furniture, pictures, and curiosities, many of them being also of great historical interest. After tea at the Castle the visitors drove back towards Cheltenham, stopping at Bishops Cleeve to see the church. The Rev. Thomas Jesson conducted the party over the extremely fine and interesting building, which was undergoing restoration. It is a very large church of transitional character, with many later additions. The details of the earlier work have all the peculiarities that characterise the transitional work so prevalent in the district, and are exceptionally interesting. Some turrets of this period are well known from their having so often figured in works on Gothic architecture. Across the west-end of the nave is a remarkably fine Rennaisance oak gallery. There seemed to be some question as to whether this should be removed, and the visitors expressed their strong disapproval of the suggestion. The return journey to Birmingham was made without any untoward incident.

TO MAXSTOKE CASTLE AND COLESHILL.

11th July, 1896.

Forty-three of the members attended this excursion, which was conducted by Mr. W. Wright Wilson. The party drove in brakes and carriages by way of the Coventry Road and Packington Park, to Maxstoke. On reaching the entrance gates of the Castle they dismounted, and listened to a short history and description of the building, read by Mr. Wright Wilson. They then entered the courtyard and were shown over every part of the interior. It is a wonderfully well preserved, fortified manor house, built by William de Clinton in 1346. The towers curtain walls and entrance gateway are in perfect preservation, and the moat is full of water. The interior has been altered a good deal from time to time to suit the requirements of successive generations of inhabitants, but there is much of the original work left, and the rooms contain interesting furniture, armour, and pictures.

The towers and walls were then examined, after which the party proceeded to Coleshill. The church was inspected under the guidance of the Rev. J. C. Pinney. No part of the building seems to be older than the 14th century and the three western bays of the arcades are of late perpendicular work, but the very fine Norman font is probably a relic of an earlier church on the site. The fine and lofty steeple is of the 15th century, and the spire is a well known landmark over a very wide area of country. The church was restored and enlarged about thirty years ago, and retains but very few traces of antiquity. It is virtually a modern church and would be but of slight interest but for the number of very fine and interesting sepulchral monuments it contains. The earlier are the two effigies of knights which lie under low moulded arches in the walls of the north and south aisles. These are of the 14th century and have been described by the late M. H. Bloxam. There are four altar tombs in the chancel, each of which bears the recumbent effigies of a man and a woman. The earliest of these is to Symon Digbye and his wife, A.D. 1520. The next in date is that of Reginald Digbye and his wife, 1549; the effigies being only incised on an alabaster slab. The tomb of John Digby and his wife bears the date 1558, and that of George Digby 1586. There are also many costly mural monuments and several good brasses. The Parish register dates from 1538. The pillory in the market place was inspected, but with the exception of the ironwork it was found to be modern.

Tea was taken at the Swan Inn, the spacious cellars of which were visited, and some parts found to be as old as the 15th, or early in the 16th, century.

TO TEWKESBURY, STRENSHAM, AND BREDON.

22nd July, 1896.

About twenty members made the last excursion of the season to Tewkesbury, where they arrived ot 10.20. The Abbey was first visited. This may almost be said to be the sister church of Pershore, visited by the members of the section in May last, but this church, happily, retains its nave. The buildings were described by Mr. J. A. Cossins, and the monuments by Mr. Harold Baker. A considerable discussion took place as to the original arrangement of the west front, and the visitors were apparently unanimous in thinking that the great arch formed an open porch before the alterations in the 15th century. After a walk through the picturesque streets lunch was taken at the Swan Hotel. The party then proceeded from the ancient bridge up the river in two steam launches, one of which was lent by Mr. James Whitfield, to Strensham, a small aisleless church of the 14th century remarkable for its fine tiled floors, oak benches, and a western gallery, constructed out of the ancient Rood screen. The

visitors had fondly imagined that they were about to see a church which had entirely escaped restoration, and if the visit had been paid but a few weeks sooner they would not have been disappointed, for then, one of the greatest attractions of the church consisted of a long row of paintings of apostles and saints which filled the oak panels of the gallery ; but to the great disgust of everyone it was found that an artist who had been painting a portrait in the neighbourhood had been so much interested in this unique series of well preserved paintings that he volunteered to "touch them up" generally, and restore them. This had been done, and the pictures as works of the 15th century *rendered absolutely valueless.* If the zealous artist had been present—and his absence was much regretted—he would have had a bad half-hour. There is a very sumptuous canopied tomb in the chancel to a Russell, and on the floor a good brass. There are also other interesting brasses, unfortunately lying loose about in the vestry.

Returning by the river from Strensham the party was very hospitably entertained to tea by Mr. and Mrs. James Whitfield at their very pleasant summer residence at Avon Bank, Bredon. After tea the church was visited, a fine transitional building with central tower and spire. The north, south, and west doorways are fine examples of the period, elaborately enriched with the peculiar double chevron found in several churches in this district, and especially at Cleeve. The south chapel of the 13th century is of peculiar interest, with very beautiful coupled trefoiled lancets, the rear arches springing from graceful shafts of Purbeck marble. There are many interesting monuments in the chapel and the chancel. The great tithe barn of the 13th century was then seen. This is an unusually grand example of this class of buildings and contains an external stairway to the stewards office over a transept. The chimney from the fire-place of this chamber is a very beautiful octagon example in good preservation. A short walk brought the party to Bredon Station, from which the return journey to New Street was quickly and pleasantly accomplished.

Birmingham and Midland Institute.

Archæological Section.

PROPERTY ADDED SINCE THE PUBLICATION OF SUPPLEMENTARY CATALOGUE IN VOLUME OF "TRANSACTIONS" FOR 1895.

Four Initial Letters for use in Transactions.
Fourteen Blocks used in illustration of 1895 Transactions :—
" Ancient Church Fittings "—8.
" Henley-in-Arden "—2.
" Salford Priors "—4.
Bullet, Bowl of Clay Tobacco Pipe, etc., found on Field of Edge Hill.
Extract of Abstract of the Title of William Dudley to the Swanshurst, Yardley.
Rubbings of the Astley Brasses.
Rubbings of the Beauchamp Brasses in S. Mary's Church, Warwick.

List A.

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

No.		
	Architectural Societies, Reports of the :—	
A28	Volume xxii	Years 1893—94
A27	" Antiquary, The ": Volume xxxi	" 1895
A29	" " " xxxii	" 1896
	Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society :—	
B43	Transactions : Volume xviii	Session 1893—94
C12—14	County Bibliographies ; by *F. A. Hyett* (3 copies)	
	Derbyshire Archæological and Natural History Society :—	
D6	Volumes xvii—xviii	Years 1894—95
L16	Local Notes and Queries, 23 May 1896 to	

P26—27 Parish Registers, Second Report on Transcription of (Soc. Antiq. Lond.) (2 copies.)
P28 Powys Land Club: Transactions, Volume xxiv
P29 " " " " xxv
P30 " " " " xxvi
P31 " " " " xxvii
P32 " " " " xxviii
R7 Rowington, Records of; by *J. W. Ryland.*
R6 "Reliquary and Illustrated Archæologist, The"; Vol. i., 1895.
R8 " " " " " ii., 1896.

Shropshire Natural History and Archæological Society:—

S30 Transactions: Second Series. Volume vii Year 1895
S33 " " " viii " 1896
S31 Some Records of an Old House.
S32 Staffordshire, Historic; by *Robert K. Dent* and *Joseph Hill.*
W28 Warwickshire Field Club: Proceedings, 1892—1895.

Officers and Committee, 1896.

ELECTIVE.

SAM: TIMMINS, J.P., F.S.A., *President.*
JETHRO A. COSSINS, *Honorary Secretary.*
WRIGHT WILSON, F.R.C.S., Edin., *Honorary Librarian.*
THE REV. FATHER ARTHUR L. CHATTAWAY.
WALTER J. CHURCHILL.
HOWARD S. PEARSON.
THE REV. H. T. TILLEY, M.A.

EX-OFFICIO (Officers of the Institute.)

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE G. J. GOSCHEN, M.P., P.C., F.S.S., *President.*
COUNCILLOR CHARLES GREEN, J.P., } *Vice-Presidents.*
C. B. BRAGG, }
G. S. MATHEWS, M.A., *Treasurer.*
COUNCILLOR R. F. MARTINEAU, *Honorary Secretary.*

Report of the Committee for the Year 1896,

PRESENTED AT THE ANNUAL MEETING, 27TH JANUARY, 1897.

The Committee have to report a further falling-off of 8 in the number of Members of the Section, which was 208 at the end of the year 1895, and now stands at 200. It will be seen from the accounts that this decrease has not materially affected the financial position of the Section, but it is nevertheless unsatisfactory to observe a steady, though small, annual reduction in the list of Members, which in 1892 numbered as many as 228.

The usual number of papers dealing with antiquarian matters have been read on Wednesday evenings to appreciative audiences, and with one exception have been of peculiar interest to the Midland Counties. The dates, subjects, and lectures are :—

Jan. 29th—(Annual Meeting) "Church Towers," by Professor F. J. ALLEN, M.A., M.D.
February 26th—"Old Warwickshire Coins, Tokens, and Medals," byMr. W. J. DAVIS.
March 25th—"The History of the Manor of Northfield and Weoley," by Mr. FRANK S. PEARSON, LL.B.
Nov. 18th—"The Heraldry of Warwickshire," by the Rev. W. K. R. BEDFORD, M.A.
December 16th—"The Sundials of Warwickshire," by Mr. E. C. MIDDLETON.

The attendance at the Summer Excursions, which last year fell considerably below the average, has greatly improved, and the Excursions themselves have been of exceptional pleasure and interest to the Members who attended, besides adding an amount of £3 13s. 4d. to the funds of the Section. They took place as follows :—

May 30th (Half-day)—Pershore, Cropthorne, and Fladbury. Attendance 33.
June 24th (Whole-day)—Winchcombe and Sudeley Castle. Attendance 10.
July 11th (Half-day)—Maxstoke Castle and Coleshill. Attendance 43.
July 22nd (Whole-day)—Tewkesbury, Strensham, and Bredon. Attendance 21.

The value of the library of the Section has been enhanced by the addition of several volumes, plans, rubbings of brasses, etc., and a supplementary catalogue of the property has again been included with the volume of Transactions for the year 1895. This publication was issued to the Members in June last, and both in excellence of production, and profuseness of illustration, forms a worthy successor to the preceding volumes.

The Congress of Archæological Societies in union with the London Society of Antiquaries took place last June, but the Committee of the Archæological Section were unfortunately unable to send a representative on this occasion. It has been decided by the Congress to issue an Index of Archæological papers published during the past 200 years, and a copy of the prospectus of the Index is sent to the Members with this report.

Mr. James Whitfield, who was elected to serve on the Committee by the Members at the last Annual Meeting, was unable to accept the office, and the Committee have elected the Rev. H. T. Tilley, M.A., to fill the vacancy in their number.

Matters of public interest, outside the ordinary operations of the Society, have also engaged the attention of the Committee. Hearing that the celebrated Beauchamp Brass in St. Mary's Church, Warwick, was in bad condition, the Committee communicated with the authorities of the Church, with the result that the Brass has now been repaired in the manner best fitted to preserve its antiquarian value. Steps are also being taken to avert the possible destruction of the old "Stratford House" at Camp Hill.

The finances of the Section, in which a slight improvement was reported at the close of last year, are now in a still more satisfactory condition. The balance on the combined accounts has been increased from £67 0s. 4d to £88 19s. 1d., from which however, the customary deduction of about £50 or £60 has to be made for printing the 1896 volume of Transactions. There is also for the first time in some years a small but gratifying surplus of income over expenditure on the General Account. This surplus is mainly due to an exceptionally large sale of the Transactions of previous years, and to the cost of the 1895 volume being rather lower than usual; it must be remembered that these items fluctuate considerably, and that a small alteration would transfer the balance to the adverse side. It is therefore of great importance that a more certain means of revenue should be obtained in the shape of an increase in the number of Members subscribing to the Section.

Income and Expenditure Accounts and Balance Sheet

FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31ST DECEMBER, 1896.

General Account.

Dr.

1896		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Dec. 31.—	To Audit Expenses	2	2	0			
	„ Bookbinding	2	5	9			
	„ Postage, Carriage, and Incidentals	6	6	5			
	„ Printing and Stationery .	5	11	0			
	„ Society of Antiquaries, Subscription	1	0	0			
	„ Transactions	40	14	0			
					57	19	2
	„ Balance carried forward, being surplus				51	9	8*
					£109	8	10

Cr.

1896		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Jan. 1.—	By Balance brought forward ...				46	1	6
Dec. 31.—	„ Excursions, Surplus on ...	3	13	4			
	„ Subscriptions	48	5	0			
	„ Transactions, Sale of ...	11	9	0			
					63	7	4
					£109	8	10

Copying Fund

1895		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Dec. 31.—	To Illustrations to Transactions	11	5	0			
	„ Reprints, Photographs, &c.	2	4	0			
					13	9	0
	„ Balance carried forward, being surplus				37	9	5
					£50	18	5

1896		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Jan. 1.—	By Balance brought forward ...				20	18	10
Dec. 31.—	„ Interest on Deposit Account		8	7			
	„ Subscriptions	29	11	0			
					29	19	7
					£50	18	5

Balance Sheet.

1896		£	s.	d	£	s.	d.
Dec 31.—	To Balance on General Account	51	9	8			
	„ Balance on Copying Fund	37	9	5			
					£88	19	1

1896		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Dec. 31.—	By amount in hands of Lloyds Bank Limited, viz.:						
	General Account	51	9	8			
	Deposit Account	37	9	5			
					£88	19	1

Examined and found correct,

(Signed) C A. HARRISON, BARRATT, WEST, AND THORLEY,

8th January, 1897. *Chartered Accountants.*

* This amount is required to defray the cost of the Transactions for the year 1896, due to the Members.

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ARCHÆOLOGICAL SECTION.

TRANSACTIONS,
EXCURSIONS, AND REPORT,

For the Year 1897.

VOL. XXIII.

WALSALL:
PRINTED FOR SUBSCRIBERS ONLY,
BY W. HENRY ROBINSON, STEAM PRINTING WORKS.
1898.

Birmingham and Midland Institute.

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William Hamper, F.S.A.,
1776-1831.

BY SAM: TIMMINS, J.P., F.S.A.

27th January, 1897.

ILLIAM HAMPER was descended from a family of that name at Hurst-per-point, in the County of Surrey, and after at West Tarring, in that County, where the family had branched off from the parent stock. His father, Thomas Hamper, settled in early life in Birmingham, where his son, William, was born December 12th, 1776. He was brought up to the business of his father, and was soon raised in society by the cultivation of his superior talents and tastes, and the merits of self-education. He was occupied by the business of his father, and travelled in many English counties, and was able to indulge in the tastes he had acquired for visiting churches and other ancient buildings. His earliest productions were, however, poetical pieces, which were generally sent to *The Gentleman's Magazine*. The first of these was "The Beggar Boy," in September, 1798, followed by a more lively production, a "Song," an Anti-revolutionary one, not very clear, "To learn (sic.) Johnny Bull à-la-mode de Paris," and a further Pindaric Address, "Loyal and Constitutional," in 1801.

These and many others were signed H.D.B.—the initials of "Hamper, Deritend, Birmingham." "The Devil's Dyke," in Sussex, was next printed in Brighton, and was famous for many years. Hamper had also a rare taste for music, and was a composer as well as a performer, and he set music to several songs, which were published in his quaint way, under the assumed name of "Repmah"—the reversed name of "Hamper."

From 1804 to 1812 he contributed to the *Gentleman's Magazine* a succession of views of Churches and other ancient buildings, with original descriptions and

illustrations—about 30 in number—in various counties, but chiefly in Hampshire, Sussex, and Kent, and two others, of Barton-on-the-Humber, in 1816, and the Birth-place of "the Reformer John Knox," at Haddington, in 1817.

In 1811, at the request of the Overseers and Guardians of Birmingham, and on the express solicitations of the Magistrates of the counties acting for that town and neighbourhood, he was induced to take upon himself the office of a Justice of the Peace for the County of Warwick.

As there were then no police magistrates in the great town of Birmingham, none of the unpaid magistrates in any part of the kingdom could be called upon for a greater sacrifice of time, than the gentleman who enjoyed the place which Mr. Hamper undertook. He executed the duties with the utmost activity, diligence, and intelligence, and with one short interval of ill health, he continued his onerous duties for twenty years. In one of his numerous and amusing letters he wrote to Nichols in 1813, "the little leisure I could steal from my own commercial "concerns seems swallowed up, *pro bono publico*, in the duties of my magisterial office, "so that I have no time (comparatively speaking) to frolic in the peaceful fields of "literature. I live in the town, which keeps my knocker going from morning till "night, whereas my brothers of the bench, one and all, reside in the country, and are "free from these perpetual interruptions."

In 1817, he contributed to the Society of Antiquaries, but he was not introduced as a fellow till April 5th, 1821, when his busy pen and large knowledge enabled him to give some valuable papers, and they are well worth recording:—"Observations on the Seal of Evesham Abbey," "the Priory of Holywell in Warwickshire," "Rocestor Abbey (Staffs.)" "a Runic Inscription on the font at Bride Kirk," "a Gold Ring with a Runic Inscription," "Sarcastic Verses on Richard II.," "the Arms and Seal of Liverpool," "a Grave in the sand-rock at Lower Stonnall," "King Athelstan's grant to the Abbey of Wilton," "a comment on the Penny of Offa, King of Mercia," and "on the Member in Architecture called 'An Oriel'"—all of which have been kept in the Society of Antiquaries rooms and publications. His examinations on Runic inscriptions were very interesting, and his full knowledge of Saxon and middle age Latinity was very highly praised. His penmanship was extraordinary; the beautiful neatness of his handwriting, so complete in every detail, the command over his pen, and his fac-similes of autographs, and copies of coins and medals are perfect in accuracy, and his "trickings" of ancient seals are as remarkable for their minute correctness, as for their number, and the facility with which he executed them. The copies he industriously made of rolls of accounts, charters, deeds, and pedigrees, are as fair as print, or rather as copper-plate engravings. He thus possessed the power as well as the will to become the ready assistant of his antiquarian friends, and from the time of his first communications to Mr. Nichols, for the History of Leicestershire, in 1803, there was a succession of authors, among the most eminent topographers of the age, to whom he furnished important help. Mr. Ormerod was particularly

indebted to his assistance and advice, and it should be noticed that nearly all the Seals engraved in his "Cheshire" were from the accurate sketches of Mr. Hamper. Among other names it may be sufficient to enumerate those of Bray, Blakeway, Baker, and last, though not least in the scale of obligation, Cartwright. The list might be greatly extended, for his liberality in communication knew no restraint; but one more must be named, in which he took particular interest, on account of its local nature—we allude to "Kenilworth Illustrated"—quarto, 1821, which splendid volume has, among other articles, a Masque, contributed from his stores; and the modern scenery of the castle was altogether described by his pen, and he received high praise from Sir Walter Scott, when preparing his famous "Kenilworth."

Mr. Hamper's distinct publications were confined to two. In 1820, he printed at Birmingham a quarto tract entitled "Observations on certain Ancient Pillars of Memorial, called Hoar Stones," wherein he has most ingeniously and satisfactorily developed the origin and meaning of the heretofore misunderstood or unknown application "Hoar," by a cloud of evidence that might create surprise, but for the fact of his industrious research; he having since collected and prepared for printing, at least an equal quantity of additional illustrations, which enlarged work has been presented to the Society whereof he was so distinguished a member.

His greatest public work is "The Life, Diary, and Correspondence of Sir William Dugdale," a handsome quarto volume printed in 1827, and reviewed in our volume XCVII., (I.) 513, (II.) 49—154. No fuller proof of his research and industry need be adduced, than the notes and illustrations which accompany that publication. This, with all its labours of collecting, arranging, and elucidating, was a most delightful occupation, as the writer of this imperfect tribute to his memory can bear testimony, His later days were in part amused and beguiled by preparing for the press an Appendix to that work, consisting of several additional letters by Sir William, his son John, and others, extracts from a recovered volume of Sir William's Diary, and various interesting matters, which it is to be hoped will be printed for the benefit of those who possess the original work. (See *Gentleman's Magazine*, June, 1831, pp. 566–569). This discovery does not seem to have been rare, as not nearly all the contents of Sir William Dugdale's "Diary" were completely found, even by the endless pains taken by Hamper, but Mr. Falconer Madan wrote to *The Athenæum*, Nov. 3rd, 1888, with the following description—

> "Your readers will be glad to learn that one of the missing volumes, the 'Diary' for 1656, has been recovered, and by the permission of the owner is here, and for the first time printed. Perhaps the only parts of the following 'Diary' which are of general interest are those which relate to the two literary works above mentioned. The record runs from Jan., 1656, to Dec. and to July 2nd, 1657 . . . . the cost of special engravings is given, the difficulties with printers, the gift of Hollar, the engraver, and other details are very interesting, and full descriptions of other papers, preserved at Merevale are fully described."

These MSS., together with a curious collection of original letters (for each of which he provided a case like a thin book) and his valuable library, were sold by Mr. Evans, of Pall Mall, and a most rare and choice assemblage they presented, in 1831. Very extensive materials for the distinct History of Aston and Birmingham, both ancient and modern, and which it was Mr. Hamper's cherished idea, to publish, were secured by Messrs. Beilby, Knott, and Beilby, of Birmingham. with a view to their being printed.

Some of these, at least, were secured in later times, by the late Alderman Avery, and one of singular interest, was Hutton's "Birmingham," very fully annotated and corrected by William Hamper, and other books and papers which, we may hope, will sometime find a home in the Reference Library, where many very valuable and priceless relics have now become Public Trusts. Among these are four very fine and handsome volumes, filled with original drawings, engraved and coloured plates, and a large number of letters, formerly the treasures of William Hamper. Another of his most valued treasures was an original copy of Dugdale's Warwickshire, a large and handsome folio, interleaved by Hamper, a really National Trust. His dream was once, to have prepared and issued a *New* Dugdale, with all the corrections and additions which could be secured, but this was never completed, and only the "Additions" remain,—the interleaved folio volumes, which were treasured by Mr. Joseph Parkes and ultimately housed in The British Museum.

"The several articles we have recited are distinguished for ingenuity of illustration, and a condensed apposite style, and bear testimony to Mr. Hamper's varied attainments as an antiquary. In his philological investigations of the Runic inscriptions he was considered as peculiarly successful, as his sagacity has in more than one instance most satisfactorily explained what had before been totally misunderstood."

"A singular curiosity which William Hamper edited in 1824, also deserves to be mentioned. It was entitled 'Two Copies of Verses, on the meeting of King Charles the First and his Queen, Henrietta Maria, in the Valley of Kineton, below Edgehill, in Warwickshire, July 13th, 1643,' which were verses found among the papers of Sir William Dugdale, and a private impression was printed by Hamper with an engraving of a silver medal in commemoration of the event." (*Gentleman's Magazine*, June 13th, 1831).

The numerous communications of Hamper are worth recording as examples of the extent and accuracy of all his works, and may be readily found in various papers in the many volumes of the *Gentleman's Magazine*.

All, although apparently trivial, were the work of a most patient and careful student, and all the more interesting as nearly all contained minute engravings of curious and permanent interest.

The most important and memorable work of Hamper was, however, the "Life, Diary, and Correspondence of Sir William Dugdale, Knight, sometime Garter Principal King of Arms, with an Appendix, containing an Account of his Published

Some Pre-historic Implements of Warwickshire and Worcestershire.

BY BERTRAM C. A. WINDLE, M.A., D.Sc., M.D., F.S.A. LOND. & IRE.

24th February, 1897.

THE following notes do not in any sense pretend to be a complete or exhaustive account of the pre-historic antiquities of the two counties with which they deal. All account, for example, of the earthworks has been omitted, because the author does not feel himself in a position to speak of them as fully as he could wish, and has, therefore, reserved them for possible discussion on some future occasion. An attempt will be made to detail the implements which have been found in these counties with the view of making some start in the direction of a future complete list of their pre-historic antiquities.

It must be admitted that both counties, but especially the former, present a very meagre tale of early antiquarian objects. This is probably due in part to the fact that the forest of Arden, during the periods with which this paper deals, covered so great an extent of Warwickshire. According to Mr. Green (1) "in the angle between the Cotswolds and the hills which form the eastern boundary of the Severn valley lay the largest of all the forests of Britain. The barren tract of low clays, indeed, which lay along the base of the Cotswolds was for the most part free from wood, but across the Avon, from the site of our Rugby to that of our Evesham, ran a line of dense woodland which stretched away northward without a break to the bounds of Cannock Chase, and extended eastward and westward from the valley of the Severn to the limits of our Leicestershire. A line of hamlets which bears the name of 'Woodend,' stretching across Staffordshire, just south of Walsall and

(1) "The Making of England," pp. 347, 348.

Wolverhampton, marks roughly the northern border of Arden. Camden marks one by Shenstone, just south of Lichfield, another close to Walsall, and a third at Sedgley, south of Wolverhampton. But beyond these the ground was still richly studded in Camden's day with outliers of the "Wooland," Walsall Wood, Essington Wood, Kingswood, and the like, which show its extension at an early time. As late as Elizabeth's time, our Warwickshire was parted into the "Feldon" and the "Wooland" or Woodland; the first a tract of open pastures between the Avon and the Cotswolds; the second, to the north of the Avon, though not without "pastures and cornfields," yet in the main "clothed with woods." The clearing of the "wooland" was in fact only due to the subsequent growth of its ironworks, which "destroyed such prodigious quantities of wood that they laid the country more open, and by degrees made room for the plough," so that "whereas within the memory of man they were supplied with corn from the Feldon," writes Gibson in 1753, "they now grew more corn than they needed." By a curious correlative change, as the soil thus cleared proved far more fertile than the clay lands of the Feldon, the latter, whose "fertile fields of corn and verdant pastures" had delighted Camden's eye in 1606, had by Gibson's day become almost wholly pasture land.

This vast tract of largely impassable forest must to a great extent have been uninhabited, and have, therefore, presented far fewer of those burial places and villages which thickly studded over Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, and other counties, have afforded such rich supplies of pre-historic implements. No doubt the forest was not without its inhabitants in British times, inhabitants some of whose earthworks may, I think, be traced at the present day. Indeed Dr. Beddoes (1) hazards the conjecture that the Britons who fought under Ceolric at Wanborough, in 591, may have been the same who had joined in the storming and sacking of Wroxeter eight years before, and that they may have been the inhabitants of Arden, "that difficult forest region which to this day, as philo-Celtic admirers of Shakespeare are fond of telling us, retains indications of a large British element in its population." He further calls attention to the use of the name Carnavy or Cornoby by the peasantry, as already mentioned, for a district in Central Warwickshire, a name which, he thinks, may connote the Carnoban, spoken of in one of the Triads as having remained British in speech. Apart, however, from the thinness of the population, when one thinks of the enormous clearances which have taken place, and of the little interest which such objects as celts, &c., aroused two centuries ago, one ceases to wonder that so little should have been recorded. Finally, I believe that the discoveries made by Mr. Landon and the exceedingly interesting series of stone implements which I am enabled to show to-night, by the kindness of Mr. John Moore, of Tunstall, on whose property they have been found, prove that there are probably many such objects still to be found if anyone will take the trouble systematically to search for them. The only find of the older kind of stone implement which has, I believe, been made in these counties, is due to the persistent

(1) "Races of Britain," pp. 55 and 64.

labours of Mr. J. Landon, of Saltley College, by whose kindness I am able to lay the following facts before you to-night. "During the last ten years," he says, "I have found a number of ancient relics in the upper gravels of the Rea at Saltley. These are about 80 feet above the present level of the river. In the upper three feet I have found now and again a number of pieces of ancient pottery, some of which are stated to be of the Norman, others of the Roman period, by Sir John Evans and General Pitt-Rivers. During the years 1890–5 I found in the lowest layer of sand and fine gravel a number of shaped quartzite stones and some flints (the latter clearly brought into the district), which I hope to be able to establish as implements. At least the evidence of their having been used by ancient man, seems to me to be of the strongest character. One, Sir John Evans says, from the nature of the fractures, &c., is most undoubtedly genuine, and he has had it engraved for his book. Altogether I have some hundreds of fragments of pottery, and a number of quartzites and flints which I hope to be able to get acknowledged as the work of man."

Mr. Moore's interesting collection was partly described by the late Mr. William A. Cotton in a privately issued pamphlet published at Bromsgrove in 1886. (1) The objects composing it were found for the most part upon Mr. Moore's own property situate at Tutnal, about two miles from Bromsgrove, on the Alcester Road, and in the parish of Tardebigge. Tutnal was at the time of the Domesday Book a part of Worcestershire, it then was attached to Warwickshire, and finally, since the Reform Bill, has been restored to the former county. The lands on which they were found are called "Nine Lands," "Orgates," "Long Close," and "Low Field." I shall allude to these objects individually under their respective headings, and will, therefore, only add here that they form an apt instance of what I have already said, that there are probably many more of these objects to be found in our neighbourhood by any one who will systematically set himself to look for them.

The first class of worked and polished stone implements with which I have to deal are celts, or stone axes. These were chipped out in the rough and often subsequently finished off by being polished, probably with the aid of sand and water against another stone. They were fixed in a wooden haft or handle, through which a hole was bored, probably by the aid of fire. The smaller end of the celt was then driven into the hole, and in some cases at least the whole was made more secure by the addition of lashings of raw hide, which, by its contraction on drying, would bind all the parts securely together. In other cases a hole was bored through the stone axe for the reception of the haft, the manner of attachment then resembling that of our modern iron implements.

The following implements of this kind have been found in Warwickshire:—

(i.) A celt of white flint, of the simpler type, found at Long Compton and figured by Bloxham. (2)

(1) "Flint Chips," Messenger Office, Bromsgrove, 1886.
(2) "Fragmenta Sepulchralia" (unpublished), p. 12.

Plate I.

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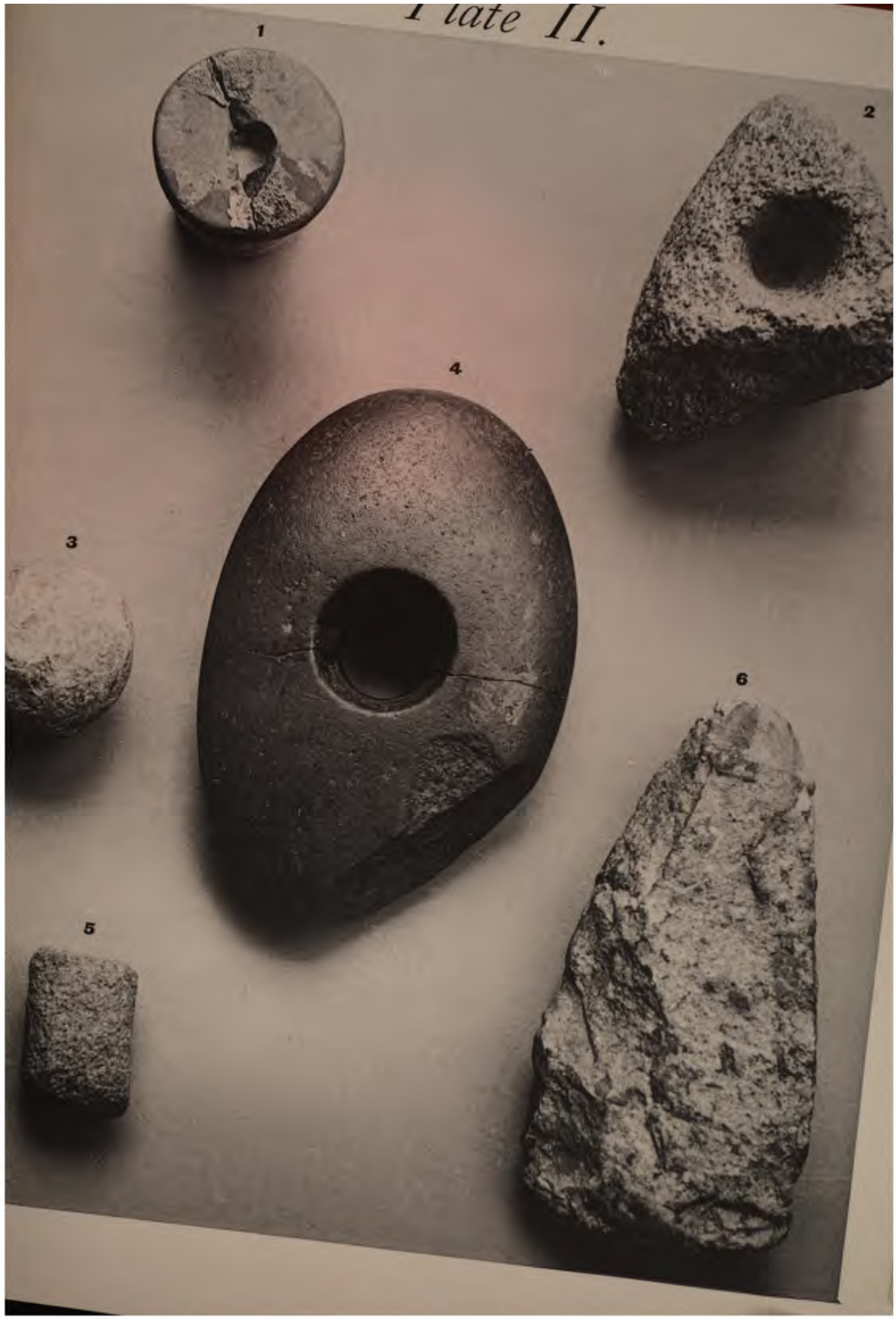
Plate II.



(ii.) Dugdale describes similar implements as found at the north side of the camp at Oldbury, near Mancetter. (1) "On the north part of this fort have been found," he says, "by ploughing, divers flint-stones about four inches and a half in length, curiously wrought by grinding or some such way into the form here expressed; the end shaped much like the edge of a pole axe, which makes me conjecture that considering there is no flint in all this country, nor within forty miles from hence, they being at first so made by the native Britons and put into a hole bored through the side of a staff, were made use of for weapons, in as much as they had not then attained the knowledge of working iron or brass to such uses."

(iii.) A holed celt described by Bartlett, (2) as "found by a cottager on the Campus Martius, now Hartshill Common, in 1770. He having obtained leave to enlarge his little croft, cut down a small unnoticed tumulus, the bottom of which was paved with bricks, which by the heat of the fire had been nearly vitrified." He describes this as "a very beautiful one, of a very different shape from that above described, this being wrought into the shape of a small battle-axe, with a hole in the centre, through which the staff was put; one of the ends is ground very sharp, the other very blunt. It is of the common blue stone of the country, but from age or the soil in which it has lain is now covered with an elegant olive-coloured patina."

Sir John Evans, (3) in dealing with this specimen, expresses his opinion that there must have been some mistake made about the bricks in the tumulus.

(iv.) A holed battle-axe, found at Walsgrave-upon-Sowe, and described (with figure) by Sir John Evans. It has (4) one sharp and one blunt end, is made of greenstone, the surface of which has considerably suffered from weathering. The shaft hole, as usual, tapers inwards from both faces; its surface is more polished than that of the exterior of the implement. A small portion of the end of the butt is flat, but this appears due to accident rather than design.

The following specimens have been found in Worcestershire:—

(i.) May states that in deepening the channel of the brook at Sedgebarrow, the sharpened half of a celt, formed of basalt, was found, and a portion of another. (5)

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(1) "Antiquities of Warwickshire," p. 778, with fig.

(2) "Manduessedum Romanorum: being the History and Antiquities of the Parish of Mancetter," London, 1791, p. 17.

(3) "Ancient Stone Implements." p. 166.

(4) Ib. p. 177.

(5) "History of Evesham," ed. ii., p. 365. Allies. "Antiquities and Folk Lore of Worcester," p. 85.

(ii.) A holed celt of basalt found at Grimley Ham, fourteen feet deep in the alluvial soil, at the distance of about 127 yards from the Severn. (1) It weighed eight pounds five ounces and a half, was nine inches long, three inches broad, four inches thick at the blunt end, and three inches and a half broad at the sharp end, the hole for the handle was an inch and three-quarters in diameter.

(iii.) A holed celt, also found near Grimley, at Ball Mill, in a gravel bed, several feet beneath the surface. The bed where it was found lay on some rather elevated ground on the western side of the Severn, nearly opposite to Bever Island, and within a short distance of it. (2) This celt was five inches long, two inches broad at one end, one inch and six-eighths at the other; one inch and an eighth broad, and one inch and six-eighths thick in the middle; it weighed nine ounces and a half, was edged at both ends, but the one end had been rather blunted and lessened a little by use.

(iv.) A holed celt of greenish stone, found in the bed of the river Severn, near Ribbesford, on digging for gravel. (3) It is in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries, weighs sixteen ounces, is five inches in length, two inches and a quarter broad, two inches wide at one end, and one inch and a half at the other. One end is sharp, the other blunt.

(v.) An early neolithic celt, hitherto undescribed and belonging to Mr. Moore's collection. This interesting specimen is formed of felsite, and may very probably have been formed from a flake knocked off one of the many erratic blocks of the district in which it was found. It is very roughly shaped, measures four and three-quarter inches in length, two inches in breadth at its wider end, and one and a quarter at its narrower. It is three quarters of an inch thick. (Plate I., fig. 6.)

(vi.) A fine celt (undescribed hitherto), found recently whilst excavations for railway purposes were being made at Defford, near the Avon. This celt, of which I have only seen a photograph, measures 6¾ × 2½ × 1½ inches. A portion of a human skeleton was found with it, which has unfortunately been destroyed, and the celt has been removed from the country by the contractor.

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(1) Evans, l.c., p. 180. Allies, l.c., p. 150, pl. iv., figs. 10.
(2) Evans, l.c., p. 166. Allies, l.c., p. 150, pl. iv., figs. 8 and 9.
(3) Evans, l.c., p. 188. Allies, l.c.. p. 146, pl. iv., fig. 5.
Wright, "Celt, Roman, and Saxon," p. 70, fig. No. 2.

ARROW-HEADS AND FLAKES.

The only references to previous discoveries of this kind which I have been able to find, are the following :—

(i.) Bloxam describes the opening of a barrow at Oldbury, near Atherstone, where there had been three successive interments. The most superficial belonged to the Saxon period, and the deepest to the Celtic. The central deposit lay in a cairn of stones, at a depth of between six and seven feet from the surface, and consisted of two urns turned mouth downwards, two smaller vases or cups, the blade of a small brazen dagger (cf. p. 13), and a number of nuts and two small chippings of flint, probably bearing a religious significance, as this was a tomb of the bronze period. (1)

(ii.) Bartlett alludes to a flint arrow-head, which he figures, as having been found at Aucote, in Aval Cour Wood, in the parish of Polesworth, not far from a place where an urn full of Roman brass coins of the Lower Empire was discovered. He states that it was of a blackish flint, one side being white. (2)

(iii.) There is a small rough-worked piece of chert in the Warwick Museum, deposited by the late Rev. P. Brodie, who found it near Rowington. I am very doubtful as to the character of this object.

Mr. Moore's collection of flints contains examples of most of the varieties of this kind of implement known to exist. Of course, the simple flake, so multifarious in its uses and so ubiquitous in its distribution, forms the largest part, but there are also the following varieties :—Arrow-heads. (*a*) Leaf-shaped, there are several specimens of this kind, one of them (Plate I., fig. 2) being beautifully worked in white flint, and another (Plate I., fig. 1) is formed from a quartzite stone, one side preserving the smooth rounded surface of the water-worn pebble from which it was formed, and the other showing the rough fractured surface of detachment. (*b*) Triangular (Plate I., Fig. 5). (*c*) Tanged (Plate I., Fig. 3). (*d*) Tanged and barbed (Plate I., Figs. 7, 8). Fig. 7 is a very fine specimen of this variety, which has unfortunately lost its point. (*e*) Single barbed, as described by Evans (pp. 344 and 351), who says that they are common on the Derbyshire Moors. (Plate I., Figs. 9, 10). Borers or awls; some of the smaller of these may well have been used as tips for arrows or as implements for making holes through skins for the purpose of fastening them together. (Plate I., Figs. 18, 28, 31, 32). Scrapers; there are several of these implements showing very careful work. Fig. 16 is an example of the so-called thumb-flint, and Fig, 15 of the finger-flint, whilst Fig. 17 may possibly be a form of the much rarer

(1) l.c., p. 22.
(2) l.c., p. 17.

concave variety, described by Evans as hollow scrapers (p. 287), and probably used for shaping and smoothing the stems of arrows and other circular wooden or bone implements. The largest of all the implements is a piece of black flint (Fig. 23) of the shape and appearance of a knife, which measures three inches in length.

OTHER STONE IMPLEMENTS.

Bracers, *i.e.* rectangular plates of stone, usually round on one face and hollowed on the other, with perforations at either end, have been found in two places in Worcestershire.

(i.) Aldington, an oblong piece of chlorite slate, five and three-eighth inches long, one and three-quarter inches broad, and a quarter inch thick, rounded on one face and hollow on the other, found in a gravel pit. It has four holes through it, one at each corner, just large enough on the rounded face to allow a fine ligament to pass through, and countersunk on the other face. (1)

(ii.) Lindridge; this specimen was also found in a gravel pit. It is of a green-coloured stone, and about four and three-quarter inches by one inch, and a quarter inch thick. It has been perforated at one end only, with a countersunk hole in each of the two corners, a third hole between them being only partly drilled. The other end is somewhat sharper and undrilled. (2)

The remaining implements belong to Mr. Moore's collection, and are as follows:—

(1) A holed stone hammer, formed of a brownish water-worn quartzite pebble, four and a half inches in length, and three and three-quarter inches in breadth. It has unfortunately had a large piece chipped off one end, and has, since it was found, been broken across and mended. The central hole has a surface measurement of an inch, but is narrower, as usual in such specimens, in the centre. (Plate II., Fig. 4).

(2) A piece of grit, with a cavity of about three-quarter inches deep in it. This interesting object is half of a stone hammer-head, which has been broken in two. The owner had commenced to bore a fresh hole in the larger half, but had abandoned his task, probably because the implement when finished would not have been of much value. (Plate II., Fig. 2).

(3) Two spindle-whorls, both of stone. (Plate II., Fig. 1).

(4) A small sub-cylindrical piece of the local new red sandstone, about one and a quarter inches in length, and three-quarter inch in diameter.

(1) Evans, l. c., p. 381., Wilts Arch. Mag., vol. x. (1867), Pl. VI.
(2) Evans, l. c., p. 381., Allies, l. c., p. 148.

The object, which is evidently of human manufacture, may have been used for a hone or for rubbing or polishing bone or other implements. (Plate II., Fig. 5).

(5) A small ball, about one inch in diameter, formed of limestone. I cannot say whether this is a natural object or not, it is possible that in either case it may have been used as a sling-stone. (Plate II., Fig. 3).

BRONZE IMPLEMENTS.

I am sorry to say that I have no further items to add to the scanty list of early metal implements and ornaments of the two counties with which this paper is concerned, and must, therefore, content myself with bringing together such references to objects of this kind as have already appeared upon the subject in various places.

The only specimen of any kind that I find mentioned as having been discovered in Warwickshire is that of a bronze knife-dagger with rivet, which was discovered in the interment in the Oldbury Barrow already alluded to.(1) It is figured by Bloxham who was present at the opening of the barrow.

Worcestershire has been somewhat more prolific in bronze implements, though even here the list is a short one. The following objects have been found :—

(i.) A flat celt of the simplest type found on Bevere Island and figured and described by Allies. (2)

(ii.) A palstave, found in the cleft of a rock 21 feet 6 inches below the alluvium, and about 45 yards from the bank of the river Severn, at Lincombe in Astley. Also figured by Allies. (3)

(iii.) A palstave, with loop at side, found at Malvern Link, and described by Nash ; it is also figured by Allies. (4)

(iv.) Another of a smaller type, found about nine inches below the surface, in a field which was formerly part of Linnall Common, by Borley in Ombersley ; also figured by Allies. (5)

(v.) A socketed celt found in the black soil at the base of the Castle Hill at Worcester, when it was excavated. It is figured by Allies, and has four indentations running longitudinally along its neck. (6)

(vi.) A socketed and ringed celt, found in the middle of the bed of the Severn, about three feet six inches under the gravel, during dredging operations ; also figured by Allies. (7)

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(1) l,c., p. 22.
(2) Evans, p. 42. Allies, p. 151, Pl. IV., No. 11.
(3) Evans, p. 81. Allies, p. 112, Pl. IV., No. 4.
(4) Nash, Worcestershire, II., 139. Allies, p. 166.
(5) Evans, p. 88. Allies, p. 108, Pl. IV., No. 3.
(6) Evans, p. 120. Allies, p. 18, Pl. I., No. 1.
(7) Evans, p. 129. Allies, p. 149, Pl. IV., No. 6.

(vii.) A bronze sword, 24½ inches in length, found near Broadway Tower, and therefore close to that ancient trackway, the Buckle Street. It has nine rivet-holes, three in the tang and three in each wing. (1)

(viii.) A spear-head of Evans' third class, possessing, that is, loops at the base of the blade which connect it with the socket. It was taken out of the Severn at Kempsey, and measured 10½ inches in length. (2)

(ix.) Another spear-head, barbed at the base of the blade, found in the Severn, near Worcester. Both these spear-heads are figured by Allies. (3)

(x.) Two oval-shaped spear-heads, found with pieces of stone celts, as already mentioned, in the brook at Sedgbarrow. (4)

The following are ornaments :—

(i.) A bronze pin, 4½ inches in length, found at Holt in Worcestershire. It has a small cross, formed of five knobs, attached to the front of the ring. It was found in the bed of the Severn, and belongs, according to Sir John Evans, to quite the close of the Bronze period, if not to the late Celtic. It is figured by Allies. (5)

(ii.) The Perdeswell torc, a portion of a bronze aud iron torc, found at Perdeswell, Claines, and figured by Allies. (6)

(iii.) A pennanular armlet, with flat broad ends, and ornamented with punctured markings, found with another of smaller diameter, but plain, more massive, and broader, found together with the remains of a skeleton at Stoke Prior. It is now in the British Museum. Evans, who figures it, doubts whether it may not be of Saxon origin. (7)

(1) Evans, p. 280.
(2) Evans, p. 330. Allies, p. 60.
(3) Evans, p. 337. Allies, p. 30.
(4) Allies, ref., as No. 9.
(5) Evans, p. 368. Allies, p. 149, Pl. IV., No. 7.
(6) Evans. p. 381. Allies, p. 230, Pl. VI.
(7) Evans, p. 383, fig. 476.

East View of the Castle in Maxstoke from Buck's Views

Maxstoke.

BY WRIGHT WILSON, F.R.C.S., Edin., Etc.,

HONORARY LIBRARIAN.

24th March, 1897.

MAXSTOKE is situated 2¾ miles S.E. by E. from Coleshill. It is bounded on the north by Shustoke, on the south by the two Packingtons, on the east by Fillongley, and on the west by Coleshill and the river Blythe.

It is a very much scattered village, situated on rising ground towards the north and east, being well sheltered by woods and sloping south and west to the river Blythe.

The chief places of interest are the Castle, the ruined Priory, the Church, the Vicarage, the Schools, the Mill driven by the river Blythe, and the Stone Quarry, but I do not purpose in this paper to deal with them all. I shall only relate briefly the history of the Lords of Maxstoke, give as full an account of the Church as is possible to me, and touch upon some points of interest concerning the land from a Record point of view.

The Domesday book says of Maxstoke that "Alnod holds *Machintone* from Turchil Earl of Warwick. There are 5 Hides less one virgate. The arable land is 45 carucates. There are 10 villeins & 4 boardars with 3 ploughs & 2 acres of meadow. A wood one league long & half a league broad. It valued 20 shillings, now 40 shillings. Ailmund freely held it in the time of King Edward." Ailmund was the first lord that is mentioned, and Turchill the second. About the former we know nothing, except that he was lord of Maxstoke, for the record finishes the paragraph by saying that "Ailmund freely held it in the time of King Edward." The life of Turchill and his descendants are to be found in my paper "Notes on Bordesley Manour," printed in the Transactions of 1891. Alnod, mentioned in Domesday was simply a tenant of Turchill.

Dugdale says (p. 702) "I have not seen when it was first granted from the descendants of that Turchill unto the Limesie's." They were the third family of lords of Maxstoke that we have a record of. The first Limesie that we hear of is Ralph de Limesia Lord of Long Itchington and Solihull, and nephew to William the Conqueror. It will be best to take them in the order of their families and not of each individual lord.

The family of the Limesia's was one of considerable importance at the time of the Conquest. It was of Norman origin. Ralph or Randolph Limesia had, as Domesday Book informs us, forty-one lordships in nine counties. His principal seat was at the Castle of Ulverlie or Olton. He married Hadewisia, Prioress de Hertford, by whom he had a son named Alanus. Dugdale does not say whom Alanus married, but two sons were the issue of his marriage and were named respectively Trianus and Gerard, the latter married one Amicia, daughter of Halenadide Bidun, and had issue Alianora who married David de Lindsei, fourth lord; (I cannot discover the arms of the Lindsei family, but think it probable that they were ancestors of the Earl of Balcarres). Basilia who married Hugh de Odyngsills, sixth lord; John, who married Alice; Alanus, Gerard, and Amabilla, who married John de Braioze. John died young, leaving one son, Hugh, who died without children, leaving his aunts his co-heirs. The arms of this family are, on a field gules three eagles displayed or. David had a son David, who had four sons and

LIMESEY

a daughter, Alice, who married Henry de Pinckney, fifth lord. All of these sons died without issue, but Alice had a son whose name was Henry. The manor of Maxstoke came into the possession of David de Lindsei, the grandfather of Alice de Pinckney, from the Limesia family into which he had married. This son of Alice de Pinckneys had a gift of it from his uncles David and Gerard, for we find him in about 1300 making a confirmation and grant to Wm. de Odingsills and his heirs, of "Lands, Homages of tenants and moieties of Advowsons of churches, in Perriton in Hertfordshire, Oxeburch, Long Hichiton, Sipeden, Cavendis, Arleya, Maxstok, Solihul." The coat of arms of the Pinckney family I cannot trace, as the last Pinckney died without issue in Temp. Ed. I.

The tenants, Wm. de Curli, of Bordebroc and la Grave, Peter Braunch and Joan his wife of Newton, Cornerde, and Bransidon, and Hubert Russin of Oxeburch, who held their lands from Henry de Pinckney by the following services :—

Wm. de Curli found the services of one soldier when Scutage accrued for his holding in Perriton & for the aforesaid villa and his tenures therein the service of half a soldier. For his holding in Maxstoke the services of one fourth of a soldier & for lands & tenements in Bordebroc & la Grave the services of one soldier.

Peter Braunch and Joan his wife for the villas of Newtone, Cornerde and Braundon four soldiers.

Hubert Russin for the Villa of Oxburche one fourth of one soldier.

Wm. de Pinckney also had one pair of golden spurs at Easter from Wm. de Odingsells for the villa of Solihul and for all secular services, customs, suit of court, exactions, demands and for other things to which the land may be liable.*

Wm. de Odyngsells, sixth lord, who was the son of Hugh de Odyngsells and nephew of Alianore de Lindsei, had this property on condition that he found the services of six soldiers (when scutage accrued) to Henry de Pinckney and his heirs, and also the payment of a pair of golden spurs at Easter for the town of Solihull.

This town of Solihull was situated where now stands the village of Olton, on the Great Western Railway. It is called Olton or old town of Ulverlie, the ancient name for Solihull. In his time the present Solihull had risen out of the remains of Ulverlie, and the latter place had fallen to decay, hence its name of old town or Olton.

There are remains of a double moat known as "Hogg's moat," a corruption of Odyngsell's moat, and a lane leading to it called Castle Lane, still existing at Olton.

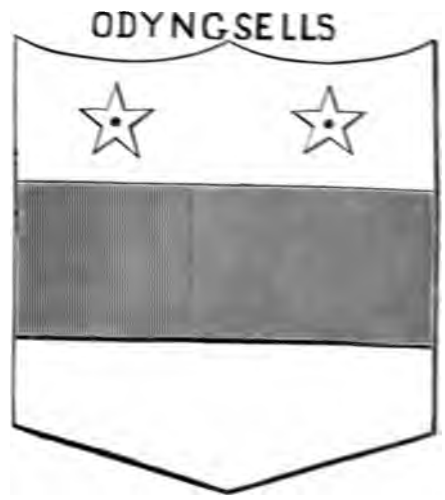
In the Calendarium Inquis: P.m. P. P. 126–127
Anno 23 Ed: I. 1295
Wm. de Oddingsells held

* "Madox Formulare Anglicanum," Ed. 1702, p. 311.

Solyhull manor' extent
Maxstok manor' extent' cum
Ecclis de
Solyhull
Maxstoke
Merston } redd'
Cotes
Arley Ecclie advoc. 'advowson
Boddebroke un firling terr'
Ella, his wife, when she died, was found to be possessed of
Olton manor extent'
Solyhulle terr' & tenementa } Rotulus 65
Makstok feodum

Dugdale says p. 751 Coventry Edition, 1765 that the ancestors of the Odyngsells came out of Flanders, but does not say when. He says also, that they took their name from Flanders Hall, near to Whitacre Inferior, and were called De Flanders from Hugh de Flanders, younger brother of William de Odyngsells. It is certain that the family name is not mentioned in Domesday; the first time that the name appears in England was when Basilia de Limesia married Hugh de Odyngsells about the time of King John. Hugh died in 1238. William, his son, died in 1249. William, his grandson, was summoned to Parliament in the 45th year of King Henry III. and died in 1274.

The arms of the Odyngsells are argent, a fess gules, upon a chief, two mullets of the same.



The seventh lord was John de Clinton, who married Ida, co-heiress to Edmund de Odyngsells, the last surviving male of that name, who died somewhere about 1314, for in 1315 the co-heiresses had a patent from King Edward II. He was the son of Thos. de Clinton, eldest son of Thomas de Clinton, of Coleshill. They

continued lords of it until 16 Henry VI. The Clintons had their surname from Clinton in Oxfordshire: Geoffrey de Clinton was a Norman. Rous (the Warwick historian) says that he was grandson to William de Tankerville, Chamberlain of Normandy, and Maud, his wife, daughter to William de Archer, whose descent, says Dugdale, "is derived from Wevia, sister to Gunora Dutchess of Normandy," But Dugdale scorns such a descent, for he says "he was of very mean parentage & meerly raised from the dust by the favour of the said King Henry I., from whose hands he received large possessions and no small honour, being made both Lord Chamberlain and Treasurer to the said King, and afterwards Justice of England. Geoffrey had a kinsman named Osbert de Clinton, and in Henry II. time the King ratified a grant which Geoffrey had made to Osbert." What kin they were to each other I cannot say, but the descent of the Clintons may be traced to Osbert of that name. Mr. J. Holliday says that Geoffrey was uncle to Osbert. (See Transactions, 1874.)

In the Close Rolls of the 20th of Richard II., 1397, there is "an indenture made between Richard Ruyhale Henry Greynur Henry Haggeleye and John Vampage of the one part and William de Birmyngham of the other part. Witnesseth that whereas the said Richard Henry Henry and John shall hold the manor of Birmingham for the term of the life of Elizabeth the wife of 'Monsieur John de Clinton' the said William confirms to them their estate in the manor during the life of the said Elizabeth. Given at London 24th May, 20 of Richard II."

Elizabeth de Clinton was the wife of John de Clinton, nephew and heir to the Clinton, Earl of Huntingdon. She had been married twice before, first to Robert Lord Grey of Rotherfield, and second to Sir John de Birmingham, County of Warwick, and held the manor of Birmingham, being widow to Sir John de Birmingham. Her third husband, John de Clinton, died and left Maxstoke to her for life, when she married for the fourth time Sir John Russell, Knight. She was upwards of 80 years of age when she died.

The arms of Clinton of Coleshill are Field argent upon a chief azure two mullets of the field pierced gules. The only difference between it and the Earl of Huntingdon's arms being six crossletts fiche sable from fess point to base; in other words the rest part of the shield was the Earl of Huntingdon's.

CLINTON

The Clintons kept possession of Maxstoke until 1428, when John de Clinton, grandson to John de Clinton, sold it to Humphrey Earl of Stafford, who was eighth lord, and who afterwards became Duke of Buckingham. These dukes were ill-fated, for the first was killed at the battle of Northampton, 1460. His grandson was beheaded by order of Richard III. at Shrewsbury, 1483, while Edward the third and last duke was beheaded by Henry VIII. in 1521. He founded Magdalen College, Cambridge, in 1519. The arms of the Staffords are on a field argent, a chevron gules.

STAFFORD

Sir William Compton was ninth lord, the ancestor of the present Marquis of Northampton. On the 20th of October, 1522, the king granted to him and his heirs the castle, park, and manor of Maxstoke to be held of the crown in capite by knight service, lately held by the Duke of Buckingham. He died in 1528, leaving a son Peter who married Anne Talbot, daughter of the fourth Earl of Shrewsbury and granddaughter to Catherine Talbot, wife of the third Earl, and daughter to Humphrey Stafford, first Duke of Buckingham. Katherine was married in the little chapel within the precincts of Maxstoke Castle. Peter dying in his minority, 1539, left a son Henry, which the king being ignorant of, and presuming Maxstoke manor and castle had returned into his hands again, made a grant of it unto Edward Lord Clinton, afterwards Earl of Lincoln for life. When he found that Peter Compton had left a son he made a new grant to Lord Clinton during the minority of the heir, Thus Edward Clinton became the tenth lord. It remained in the Compton family for four generations, when Wm. de Compton sold it to Sir Thomas Egerton Knight, keeper of the great seal of England in 1597, who thus became the eleventh lord. Henry Compton died in 1589, and was styled Baron Compton.

COMPTON

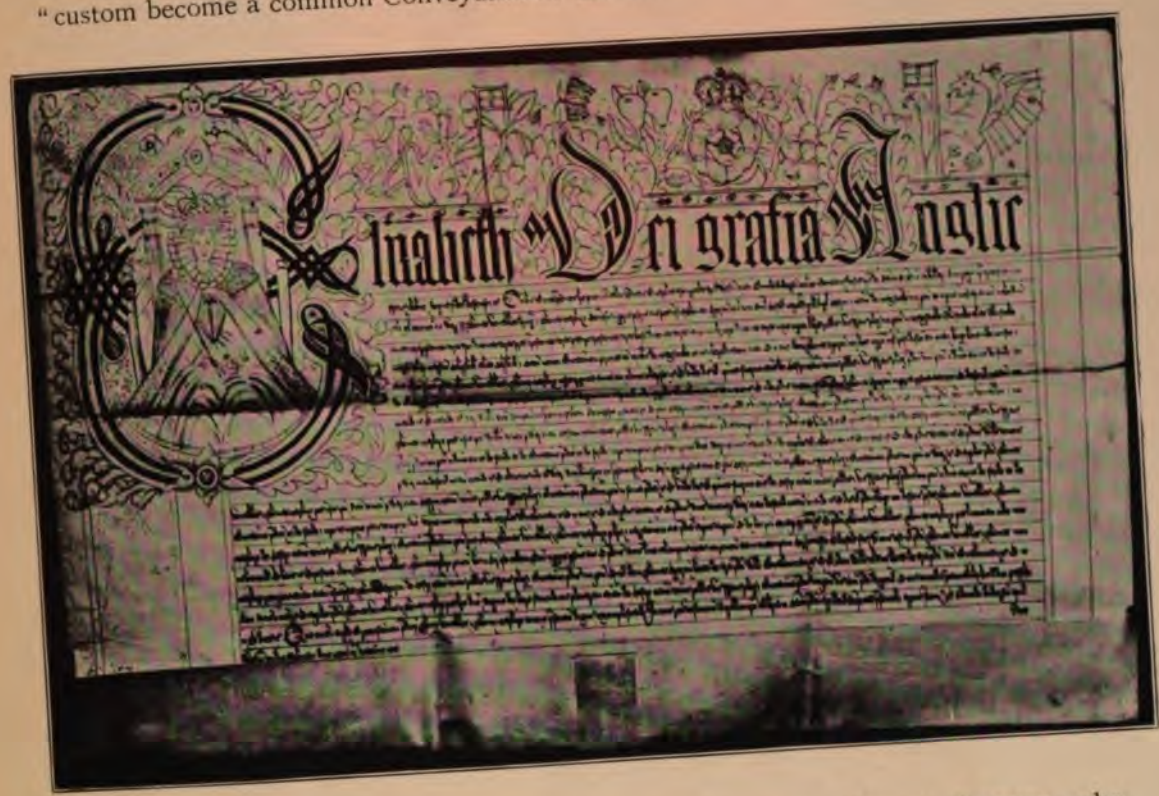
An Inspeximus of Henry VIII. recites the "grant to William Compton Knight "of the manor of Maxstoke the castle and the park, with its liberties and privileges "in the county of Warwick, together with Court Leet and View of Frankpledge, "formerly held by the Duke of Buckingham who held the same privileges and "liberties, Court Leet and View of Frankpledge, as also waif and stray of cattle, "with the advowson and patronage of the Priory of Maxstoke, also the advowson, "the churches, priories, chapels and chantrys to the same manor belonging, holding

'the same of the king by millitary service. Given at Westminster 15th day of "March, in the 16th year of K. H. 8th, 1525."

This deed was extracted by Thos. Hannyball and Wm. Throkmorton, and from some cause was left without rubrication. It has the great seal of Henry VIII. attached. Wm. Throkmorton was the third son of Sir Thos. Throkmorton, of Coughton, Co. Warwick, and was a Doctor of civil law.

A Royal Deed licensing "Wm. de Compton Thos. Spencer Robt. Atkinson and

"or feigned recovery by which is meant a formal act by consent, between the parties "for the better assurance of Lands and tenements. It is a feigned suit or judgment "upon a *real action* brought in the Common Pleas Court and is a common path to "that end for which it was ordained viz. to cut off estates tail etc, also it is by "custom become a common Conveyance of Lands."

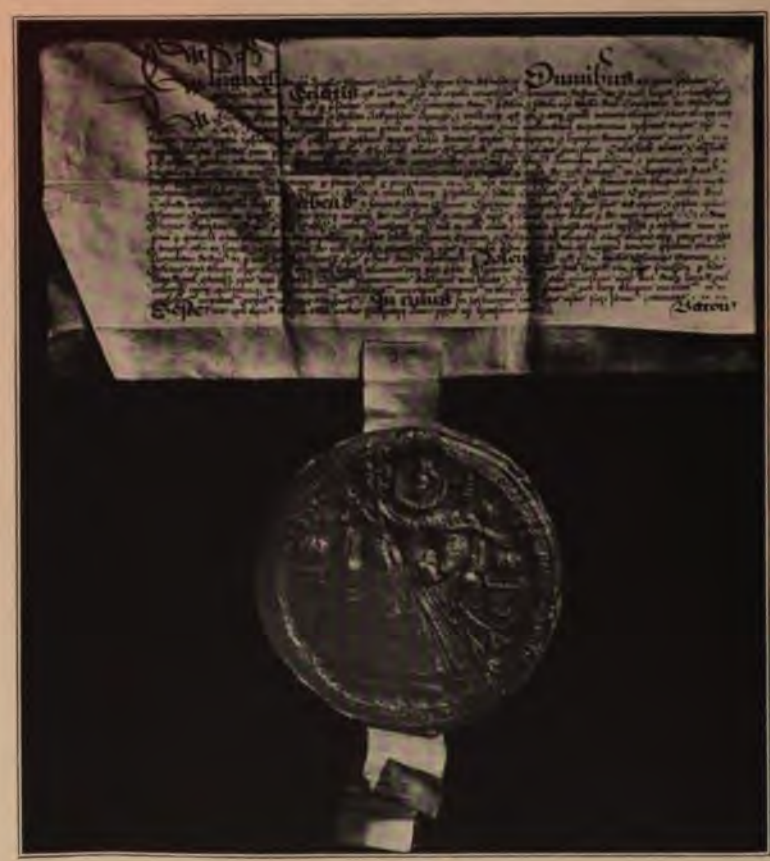


The Earls of Bridgewater owe their ancestry to Sir Thomas Egerton, who was born in 1540, the illegitimate son of Sir Ralph Egerton of Ridley, by Alice Sparke. His son John was created, 1617, Earl of Bridgewater, and afterwards appointed Lord President of Wales in 1633. Burke in his Peerage, says, "to this "appointment the world is indebted for Milton's celebrated 'Mask of Comus.' He "entered upon his official residence at Ludlow Castle with great solemnity attended "by a large concourse of neighbouring nobility and gentry. Among the rest came "his children Lord Brackley, Mr. Thomas Egerton and Lady Alice

"to attend their father's state,
"and new entrusted sceptre.

"They had been on a visit at a house of the Egerton Family in Herefordshire; and "passing through Staywood Forest, were benighted, and the Lady Alice even lost "for some time. This incident (which in the end was attended with no bad con-"sequences) furnished the subject for a Mask for a Michaelmas festivity, and "produced Comus."

"several others to alienate the Castle and Manor of Maxstoke with appurtenances "with twenty houses one water mill three hundred acres of arable land two hundred "acres of meadow land three hundred acres of pasture three hundred acres of "woodland two hundred acres of gorse and brushwood (Jampnor et bruere) two "hundred acres of moorland at a rent of twenty pounds in Maxstoke Shistock "alias Shustock Marson alias Marston Coleshill alias Colshill and Cotton also the "advowson of the Priory of St. Michael of Maxstoke in the County of Warwick to "Thomas Egerton Knight Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England. Given at "Westminster the 2nd day of February 39th year of Elizabeth (1597)."



It has the great seal attached and bears the name of Bacon, afterwards Keeper of the great seal.

The arms of the Comptons are, on a field sable, a lion guardant or between three helmets argent.

An exemplification or copy of a recovery by Thos. Venables and Thos. Marbury against Sir Thomas Egerton Lord Keeper, of ye Manor and Castle of Maxstoke, Hillary term, in the 39th of Elizabeth, with a seal and voucher.* "This is a common

* Jacob's Law Dictionary, 7th Ed., 1756.

2. *Humphrey Stafford.* Buckingham 1st Duke.
   1 Engraving of, in "York's Royal Tribes," 4to.

3. *Henry.* 2nd Duke.
   1 Engraving of, in "Birch's Lives of Illustrious Persons," folio.
   "Houbraken."

4. *Edward.* 3rd and last Duke.
   1. By Faber, 4to, 1714, as Founder of Magdalen College, Cambridge, 1519
   2. In "Ackerman's History of the University of Cambridge," vol. 2. 8vo., painted by Holbein, engraved by Schiavonetti.
   3. Published by Woodburn, 8vo.

5. *Egerton.* Sir Thos., Lord Viscount Brackley, Lord Chancellor and Lord of Maxtoke, died 1617, ætat 77. Fourteen portraits are engraved.

6. *Compton, Sir Henry.* K. B., 1512.
   Published by Thave, 4to.

The Castle stood in the great Park, which in the 18th Century consisted of 349 acres, but now is reduced to about 145 acres, the rest being agricultural land. You will see a map of John Wedge of Packington, who was a surveyor and estate agent to the Dilkes of Maxstoke about 1770. This map was very kindly lent to me by Mr. John Wilmot, surveyor, of Waterloo Street, and in it you will see the extent of the Park at that time. It is entitled "A Mapp of Maxstoke Castle and the "Estates adjoining belonging to William Dilke, Esq." The Castle is quadrangular in form, having a small tower at each corner, with two central towers forming a gateway at its eastern aspect, with a moat surrounding it, which was originally crossed by a drawbridge. A portcullis defended the gateway. It was crenellated or embattled in 1346. There are modern buildings now inside the quadrangle. I do not propose to give further details, as its history must be left to some future archæologist to develope.

The Church is dedicated to Saint Michael, and is situated on the summit of rising ground. The present Vicar, the Rev. Samuel Back, M.A., tells me that it is usual for all churches that are dedicated to this Saint to be built on the highest ground that the neighbourhood affords.

There is no mention of a church or priest in Domesday Book. In 1291 the Church was valued at £5. 6s. 8d. for its tenths, which amounted to 10s. 8d.

In Madox "Formulare Anglicanum" there is a copy of a deed which appropriates the Churches of Maxstoke and Long Ichyngton to the Priory of Maxstoke, made by Roger, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, in consequence of the resignations

of the Rectors, Master John de Lyvye of the Church of Maxstoke, and Master Robert of Maxstoke, of the Church of Long Ichyngton in the year 1336.

This was confirmed by Robert, his successor in the Episcopate in the year 1378.*

In 1340, Edward the III. time the Inquisition of the ninth was first in force, and Maxstoke church was taxed at 8 marks. From this record it appears that the parishioners found upon their oaths the true value of the ninth sheaf of corn, wool and lambs, stating first of all the ancient tax of the church, which was 5 marks per annum; the glebe of the same with the 10th of hay, etc., were valued at 40/- per annum.

The tenth sheaf of corn with other tenths and oblations were valued in 1534, time of K. Henry VIII. at 73/8d. (see the Valor Ecclesiasticus).

In the 26th of Henry VIII., 1535, the church was valued at £5. 6s. 8d. It had never been valued since 1291. In the fee farm rents, purchased by Mr. Thomas Lane, of the City of Coventry, gent., in time of the Commonwealth, a list of which is preserved in the "Midland Antiquary," No. 9, 1884, "The rents or tenths reserved "for the site of the manor of Maxstoke and Sheustock and others (were) £12. 7s. 9¾d." In 1721, at £32, by the Commissioners of Queen Anne's Bounty.

In the Clergy List for 1865, the benefice is put at £70. It is endowed with £200, with £400 private benefactions and a Parliamentary grant of £500. The patronage is in the hands of Lord Leigh. The church and other lands were granted to the Duke of Suffolk in the year 1539, by King Henry VIII., who sold it all to Robert Trapp, Goldsmith, of London, two years afterwards, and Dugdale says, in his day, "the posterity of Robert Trapp, in the female line, had carried it to a "younger branch of the Paulets, Marquises of Winchester, and was still in their "possession."

List of Vicars since 1599.

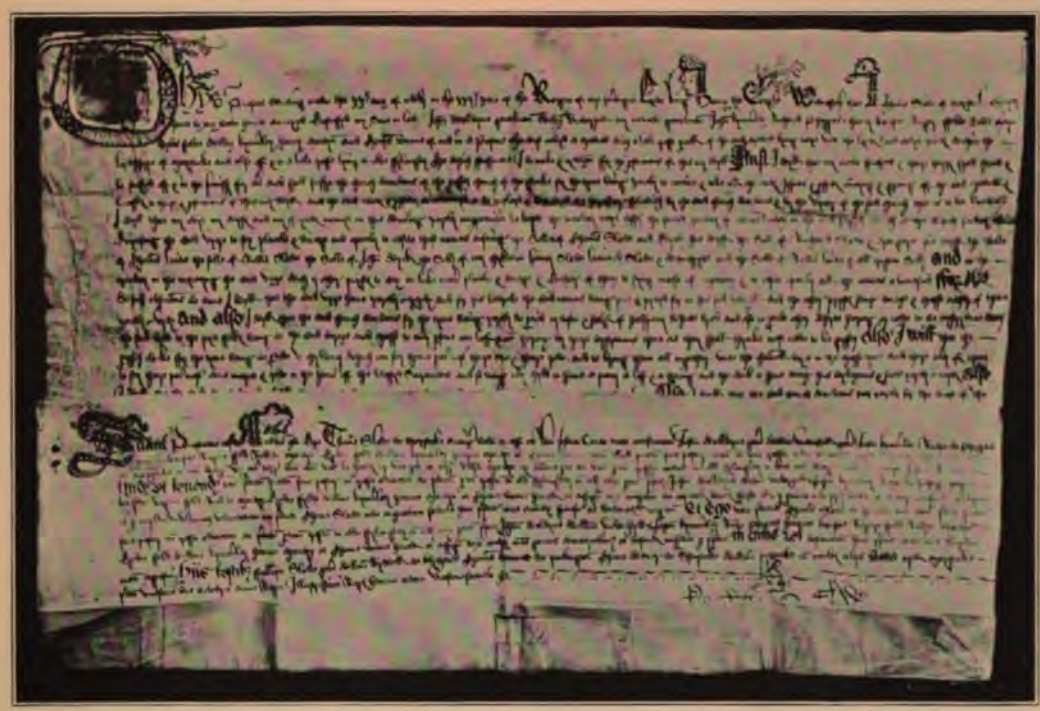
I am unable to give the names of the Vicars from 1599 to 1781, not having found anything relating to them.

1782 Joseph Rann.
1813 Thomas Price.
1815 R. R. Vaugton. July 24th.
1819 J. D. Hewitt. Jan. 24th.
1824 G. Woodcock. Nov. 28th.
1848 H. Hutchins. July 12th.
1869 Sam. Back. June.

* "Madox Formulare Anglicanum," Ed. 1702, p. 14.

A grant from Andreas Bartrem, of Maxstoke (made in 1419), "of a messuage "with a hall and chambers (high and low) and of a grove and wood with their "belongings in Maxstoke, including all ditches and hedges, to John Wylvinston Vicar "of the church of Maxstoke and Thomas Hateley of Little Packington with free "Ingress and Egress, together with a parcell of land called Moldeland holding the "same by the usual services therein owing to the Lord of the Fee and the right "customs. Given at Maxstoke the Sunday next before the feast of the Purification "of the Blessed Mary the Virgin, in the sixth year of the reign of King Henry, the "fifth after the Conquest.

"Witnessed by John Wedon, Henry Yerdeley, Symon Godeman, Galfred Moris, "Andrea Blabor and others."*



In an Indenture dated 1530 the 20th of Henry VIII. "Between Thos. Slade "Esq. and John Kinnersley, William Kinnersley his son, whereby Thos. Slade demises "a pasture or meadow lying in Maxstoke between land called the Hood and the land "of Robt. Martin and Alice his wife and a little croft adjoining unto the said "meadow & a parcell of the same now in the tenure of the said Robert during "the lives naturall, of the said Robt. & Alice & the longer liver of them so that the "foresaid Robt. & Alice do yearly acquit and discharge the said John Kinnersley & "William and all other the assigns of the foresaid Thomas of and from all manner

* "Madox Formulare Anglicanum," Ed. 1702, p. 285.

"of the cheif rent going out of the said meadow & croft, for the term of twenty-one "years, paying into the hands of the church wardens of the parish church of "Maxstoke for the time being & for the performance of the last will of Thomas "Slade conveying the said meadow for the keeping of his obit, the sum of ***nine*** "shillings and if Francis Slade, son & heir to Thomas, & his son & heir lawfully "begotten, shall be lacking and destitute of meadow for hay and they are inhabiting "and dwelling in and upon the head place of their lands it shall be lawful for the "said Francis or his said heire to have & occupy the said pasture, paying the said "sum of nine shillings yearly."

There is the usual clause as to distraint.

The meadow was called Katherine's meadow.

"In 1531 Thomas Slade of Maxtoke. Esquire afterwards Sir Thomas Slade, "Knight, enfeoffed John Walldyne his son in law Gentleman Wm. Underhill his "nephew gentleman John Kinnersley Richard Phyppes Henry Learsote Roger "Felde Robert Martyn Gyles Felde Wm. Kinnersley Henry Martyn & Thomas "Dunne with a pasture otherwise called a 'medow' with a little croft parcel of the "said medow lying next unto the land Hood within the Lordship of Maxstoke & also "of & in a little croft lying in old Fillongley which he gave for the purposes of his "will. He wills 1st, that they, the feoffees shall stand seized of the said premises "and shall suffer the churchwardens of the parish church of Maxtoke to have the "rents monies and profits arising from the said meadow & croft to the use & "performance of his will, 2ndly that his obit, his wife's, & his friends' named "in this writing shall be perpetually kept the Monday next after the second "Sunday of *Clenelenten in the parish church of Maxstoke on the which Sunday after "Evensong the said vicars to say, placebo & direge & openly to recite these names "ensuing; the Solls of Thos. Slade & Elizabeth his wife, Richard Slade & "Margaret his wife, Thomas Luite, Robert Slade, John Wycke, the solls of his "children, Henry, Leonard & Winnefred and the solls of Robert Luite & all Christian "people & on the Monday in the morning the said vicars with two other priests to say "in like manner, placebo & dirige & either of them to sing mass of Regimen & to "recite all the above said names for which he willed that the vicars should have "yearly XXd., and for his bederoll the said names being put and prayed for in the "said bederoll & the other priest saying dirige & mass, either of them yearly VId. "The church wardens to provide yearly III. dozen & a half of halfpenny white bread "& also white herring or red to be distributed with the said bread to the poor "folk being at the said dirige & mass to every person one loaf & one herring by their "discretions there, as they shall think most need to be given, also that the parish clerk "provide V. children which can say their pater noster, ave maria & credo, and to bring "them altogether unto the Chancel Door during mass & there every one of them "to say their pater noster, ave maria & credo in the honour of the Blessed Sacrament "& so doing every child to have a penny, a loaf and a herring & the clerk to

*Holy Lent, or "Pura Quadrigesima;" see Nicholas' Chronology, Lardner Series, 1838.

"have, doing his diligence and services yearly IIIId., also that the church wardens "shall have for their diligence & Labor Either of them yearly VId. & that the "said church wardens pay yearly for the waste of the wax about the hearse IIIId. to "the use of the church also that the rest of the rents etc. shall go yearly to the "maintenance of the light of our Lady & Saint Michael in the parish church of "Maxstoke, also that the church wardens when they make up their accounts "after Easter (?) (E'istr) do account in like manner how the said rents etc. be "bestowed in every manner before the vicars & parish, also that if his son Francis "be destitute of medow then that he have the first math, paying unto the church "wardens yearly for the said first math, VIIJs at the feast of St. Michael the "archangel & the church wardens to make up the latter math as much as they "can to choose, also that Robert Martin & his wife during their lives, have the little "croft, paying to the lord, the chief rent of the said meadow & croft, 'which is for my "part IJs' also if his son and his son's heir, fortune to be at the said obit at mass, "then the church wardens to deliver him the offering penny & if not there the church "wardens to offer the penny."

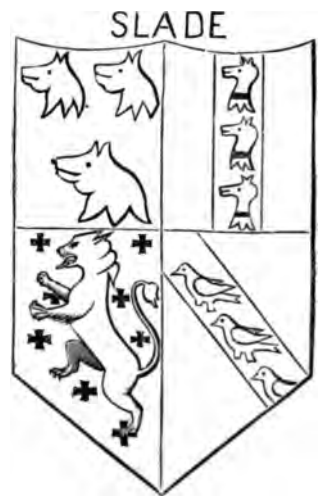
Then follows the deed of feofment (which is annexed to the will) and is witnessed by Francis Slade, William Ryddell of Blythe End, Thos. Leenett of Packington, Thos. Wener of Shustoke, William Pinnocks, and others, the 20th of October, 1531. We then have no record for 125 years in the history of the church.

Sir Thomas Slade appears to have been of good standing in the County, having estates in London and its suburbs, also Halewick, in the County of Middlesex, Newmarket, in right of his wife, Coleshill, Packington, Fillongley, Bentley and Maxstoke.

He held 22 tenements and lands in Maxstoke alone. He seems to have been a man of quick discernment and of choleric temperament. Large-hearted, prudent and wise.

He little thought when making his will that four years later the whole of his gifts to the church and the poor would be seized by a rapacious king and his followers.

His coat of arms is taken from his will but I cannot give the tinctures of the several quarterings.



Dugdale gives as existing in his time, 1656, the following arms—in the East window of Maxstoke Church:

Gules a Fesse betwixt six Crosslets or
for Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick.

Argent Six cross Crosslets fiché sable and upon a chief azure two mullets or, pierced gules
for Clinton, Earl of Huntingdon.

Argent, upon a chief azure two mullets or, pierced gules
for Clinton, of Maxstoke.

A Monumental Inscription in plates of Brass upon Marble Gravestone lying in the chancel:

"Hic Jacet Ricardus Slade armiger et Margareta uxor ejus qui Ricardus obit anno Domini MCCCCLXXX (1480)."

THE CHURCH AND ROAD.

Dugdale says that "Sir Wm. de Clinton gave to John Lynie, Priest and Warden "of the Chantrie and his successors, a certain piece of land lying then betwixt "the roadway leading from Fillongley towards Coleshill on the one side, and the "churchyard of Maxstoke on the other, and extending in length from the Lord of "Maxstoke's Quarrie to the pale of his park."

You will see in Buck's "View of the Ruined Priory," 1739, a road on the left with palings and a gate stretching right across the road to intimate to the public that the road was private. I think that the road has been made since the gift of land by Sir Wm. de Clinton, and that it has been widened in almost modern times, for there is a narrow lane where the road turns at right angles, which is a continuation of this road and which comes out higher up towards Coleshill. Out of the lord's quarry was the stone evidently gotten for building the Castle, the Priory, and the Church.

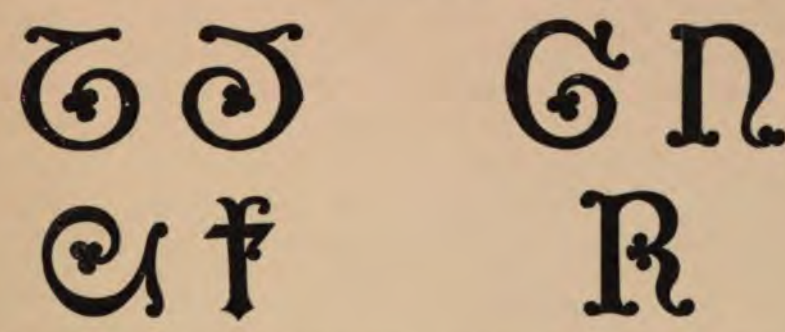
THE CHURCH.

Mr. J. A. Cossins has given me some valuable conclusions at which he has arrived after years of thought concerning Maxstoke Church. He says "Passing to "the fabric of the Church we must come to the conclusion that it was built somewhere "about the time of Sir Wm. de Clinton, for the same marks as the masons used "to identify their work, are common both to Church and Priory." He thinks it probable that De Clinton would remove the remains of his ancestors, who were buried in the old Maxstoke Church, with their monuments, into the Priory Church. That he then demolished the ancient structure and built a new church. That this was done with the remaining stone left over from the building of the Priory seems a foregone conclusion. Of the west door he does not think that it is earlier than the 18th century. It once had a north and south door, of which the former is blocked

up and the latter now opens into a modern vestry. The font is modern; the inside has been partially restored, but the old pews remains. Nevertheless there are fragments of old tiles and old glass to be found, but not a trace of anything Dugdale refers to.

The site of the old vicarage has long been forgotten, but Mr. Cossins says that one of the cottages in the churchyard has no doubt been part of the old vicarage or priest's house. The churchyard cross, which once appealed to every passer by, has now lost every trace of its religious aspect. It now consists of a simple shaft and base, in good preservation.

On page 82 of the Transactions of 1874 Mr. J. R. Holliday speaking of miscellaneous tiles found by him during the excavations at Maxstoke, says "There is one "puzzling design I cannot explain. It is formed of four tiles which make a circle "containing the letter **H** four times repeated, while in the band enclosing it are the "letters **W G W E R** also four times repeated. It can contain no local allusion, "because precisely the same design on a somewhat larger scale occurs on some tiles "in S. Michael's Church, Coventry, and as there is also the same letters we may be "pretty certain that we have the proper arrangement and that nothing is missing." I have puzzled myself with these two tiles for some years, and now think that I have arrived at a solution. It is this. Examine all the letters, and you will find that there is but one letter with which there is any difficulty. It is the second which Mr. Holliday is content to put down as a **G**. Now the Medieval **G** was shaped very much as it is now, and the **C** is unmistakable; the only other letter



is a **T**. I have figured the tile with the **T**, and also **G N** and **R** so that you may see the letter for yourselves. What I believe is that the tile maker, having a fancy of his own, or the monks, having a fancy of their own, caused **T** to take the place of **C**. But this **T** is not upright, it is reversed and at a right angle. In sounding the words Clinton and Tlinton, you will not find any appreciable difference. Moreover, the **T** lends itself to an appearance of Cl, a capital C and a lower case l, and as it was certainly of importance, they strove to make it more so by not following the rule with regard to the position of the letter. I believe that all the other letters are correct. The legend as I read it by the help of a **T** is William

Clinton William Earl of Huntingdon. The H in the Centre is evidently intended for a deer with two branching antlers, and is in allusion to his title of Huntingdon. I have been to Coventry to obtain a rubbing from the tiles on purpose that there should be no mistake on my part.

In the year 1522, Thomas Slade, of Maxstoke, wrote his book of Remembrances which is printed in the Warwickshire Antiquarian Magazine, Edited by John Fetherstone, F.S.A., in 1871. In it there is a note by the Editor that "this book is "quoted by Tanner in his 'Notitia Monastica' and was lost for many years, until "discovered by the Editor in 1858, at Maxstoke Castle, in an old box of papers "labelled 'to be burnt.'" It is now in the possession of the Dilke family at Maxstoke Castle. It was written for the benefit of Thomas Slade's descendants "concernyng all "my londs that I have this Presente day, And to Answere to Any matar that shal be "Requesite Parteynyng to my saide londs, as well for all such londs that I have by "discente aftur the death of my said fad^r and modur In the County of Warr, as of "All othir londs that I have by the feoffamente And will of my uncle Thomas Luyte "my mothir ir brother, In the Citte of London, And in the Suburbis of the same. "Alsoo for the mano^r and Lordship of Halewicke in the said Countye of Middelsex "of the Gyffte And G^a unte of the said Thomas Luytte. And Alsoo of all othir "londis that I have in the right of my Wyff, Elizabeth the doughter and heyre of John "Wicks. In Newmarkett Dytton Walens, Wood Dytton, Saxton Ixenynge And "Delingham In the Countyes of Cambridge And Suffocke."

In this M.S. is a copy of a deed dated at Maxstoke on the feast of St. John the Baptist, in the 20th year of King Edward III., 1347, in which Lord John Clinton, of Maxstoke, grants a field, called Brodefield, to the Prior of Maxstoke, and to his convent for ever, subject to the rights of the freeholders (mentioned in the deed) of common land at certain times of the year. This field was afterwards divided up, by Prior Grene, and made two fields of, in the days of King Henry VI., at which there was a great commotion among the tenants of the Priory and the tenants of the Lord. It appears that Prior Grene wanted his tenants to have a share in the common land, and the freeholders did not; therefore he divided the field so that his tenants should share in the common lands, and the other he set apart for the freeholders. Consequently there was, Slade says, "great beasynes for the occupacon of the com'on "in the saide II ffelds, betwixte the prior for the tyme being, and thei tenants of the "towne and especially by the lorde is' tenants." In the tenth year of Henry VIII. they came to an agreement before the Duke of Buckingham (then being at the castle), after a struggle of over 70 years, when the parties were much in the same position as before.

Slade goes on to say that the tenants who are copyholders have had the liberties of common. The date of the foundation of the Priory, and the liberty of franchise and free warren was in the 17th year of King Edward III.

The names of the freeholders that had granted to them Common in the Brodefield, were

The Prior of Maxstoke	
Symon Morren	John Walronde
Robert Harre	Richard Kyngesforthe de Maxstoke
John Bartilmew	Adam Watson
Robt. Hode	John at Slade
Will Corneville	Nichs Berthem
John Hurdenhede	Thos. Avetekyn

and Wm. Kingesforth de Maxstoke.

The history of the Priory of Maxstoke has been so thoroughly well written and illustrated by Mr. J. R. Holliday, in the pages of our Transactions for 1874, that I need not touch upon it, except for one or two small matters which I will explain. On page 86, he says "so that the writer of Slade's Remembrances asserts "that in 13 Henry VIII. *all the freeholders lands* were in possession of the priory, "except those of Slade & Hurdenhed," but on referring to the copy of the Slade MS. I find that it says "And it is to be knowen *that all the Freeholders lands* "*that held their lands of the priory* be now in possession of the said priory, sum "by purchas and sum by Exchete, excepte the freeholder of Hurdenhedde and "the little croft that the teneamente stode in, called Hadocks that was the saide "Richarde Slades."

There were still the freeholders that held their lands of the Castle Lordship.

Slade says "The most part of all the original deeds of the freeholders lands, in "Maxstoke, were of the grant and gift of the Odyngsells, Lords of Maxstoke, and "before thee foundation of the Priory the manor *was one and not severed.* The "manor place was there, as the Priors barnes be now."

The Manor was in the hands of John Clinton, who gave the Manor place at Maxstoke, with all the demean lands pertaining, and the rents and services of divers freeholders of the Manor, to his brother William, afterwards Earl of Huntingdon.

Slade's MS. requires to be read by that which follows as well as that which goes before. It seemed so contradictory to me in certain passages, and this was one of them, that I had to make a summary of it, before I could understand it.

I find that there are about 70 names of freeholders given in the two MS., *i.e.*, "Abstract of Court Rolls in the Cartulary and Slade's Book," so that Mr. Holliday is not far out of his reckoning when he says, on the same page, that "we should "probably be not far wrong, in concluding, that at the time of the foundation "of the Priory there were at least forty freeholders in the Priory Lordship." There were, according to the two MS., 33 freeholders in the Priory Lordship and 36 in the Castle Lordship.

Slade goes on to say "The names of sometime freeholders in the days of Ed. I., "Ed. II., & Ed. III. & which freeholders are now in possession of the Lord, were—

Robt. Hode	8/1
John Bartilmew	7/8
John Botelar	2/-
Julian Barnarde	13d
Nichs. Lyndriche	2/1
Richd. Stone	7/8
Wm. Fabro	2/-
John Monben	2/8
Thos. Taileor	5/4
John Pistor	2/10
John at Slade	5/2
Wm. Kyngesforth	11/-
Corley	3/-
Adam Mettley	
Richd. Abell	
Wm. fflynie	10d
Walter Alspath	1d
John Bilweth	10d
Wm. fforgrene	12d
John lee Horne	5/-
John Day	2/8
Nichs. Barteram for the wood that now is called ye lords wood	2/-
Wm. Cornville	7/3
Richard Kyngesforth	5/-

Combs Wood (in the Syncke) 3 hens, a Tenement next to Brodefield 9d.
Whiteacur 4d."

These were the names of freeholders that were Cotterels or cottagers and their chief rents that they paid.

Maude Molling	8d
Roger Bolneth	10d
Henry Alen	2/-
Margery Bartilmew	6d
Julian Grogrene	6d
John Hylney	12d
Wm. Browne	5½d
Margaret Alen	9d
Adam Chapman	4d
	36

In the Priory Lordship the Tenants names were—

b Symon Moren	R Emma Lyndrich
b Robert Harte	R Alice Smith
b Henry Walker	b Richd. atte Slade
b Nicholas Bartram	R Robt. Powke
b John Walker	R H. Prowde
John Collesley	R T. Powke
b Alice Walker	R Adam Chapman
R Amicia Falke	R Wm. Helany
b Richd. Walker	R John Merston
R Henry Hurdenhed	S Henry Isabell
b Thos. Antekill	S John Fabro
b Gregory Ateley	S John Walker
R Philip Isabel	S John Smith
b John Walrand	S John Borcate
R John Griffin	S Thos. Atteley
R Matilda Borcate	——
b Walter Colesley	33
R Robt. Hood	——

It appears that a certain Henry Martyn, alias Field, probably a descendant of Robert Martyn, deemed himself defrauded of the meadow known as "Katerine's medow," and so set himself the task of getting it back again. In the year 1590, September the 6th and 7th, a petition was drawn up and signed by the principal inhabitants of the Castle and Priory Lordships to say that they "are willing & have "given their consent that Henry Marten alias Field shall have and enjoy Katerines "medo for ever, paing to the parish for the same yerely for ever VIIIs. & IIIId."

The signatures of the Castle Lordship are

"Francis Phyppes his hand & consent accordinglie"
"Willm Phyppes accordinglie"
"Ambrose Fylld accordinglie"
"Thoms Wills accordinglie"

These are the only men who could write their own names.

The others gave their consent by their mark and are as follows

Thos. Marten	Francis Tysall
W. Moorewood	Sampson Hynsam
Raph Pickering	Thoms. Waight
Mychael Crosse	Willm. Kymbarley
Thomas Moobley	Willm. Egles
William Geffery	Raphe Barnet
Willm. Oughtess	Thomas Gudemeede
Thoms. Barley	Thomas Hautt
Robrt. Marston	Williame Hautt
Stephen Fylld	and Thom. Feelde.
Nicholas Miller	

R=Court Roll. S=Slade. b=both.

Of the Priory Lordship there were but two who could write their names, they were

Mr. Edward Stapleton and John Betteridge.

The rest gave their marks and were

W. Haule	Henry Kymbarley
Nicholas Griffyn	Henry Dakins
Robrt. Bennett	John Clark
Wm. Burton	John Rowley
Thoms. Graunds	Thoms. Wright
Edward Momfort	Hugh Barley
John Kymbarley	Nicholas Essex
John Hewson	and Thomas Rogers.

Now it appears by a deed, bearing date of the 5th of November, 1571, time of Queen Elizabeth, that Her Majesty had given this very meadow to Thomas Jennyns of London, Gentleman, and Edward Forthe of London, Gentleman, on the 10th day of August, 1571, and by this deed they sold it two months afterwards to Henry Fielde of Maxstoke, Wm. Phipps yeoman, Roger Feilde husbandman, and Francis Kymberlye of the same place. It was given to Thomas Jennyns and Edward Forthe at Gorambury, and was held of the Queen under the Customs of the Manor of East Greenwich, in the County of Kent, for the sum of fourpence, payable to the Queen, her heirs and successors, through the Receiver General of Warwickshire.

This was the sum that the grantees had to pay. The grantors constituted Humfrey Riddell and George Butler, Gentlemen, their attorneys in the matter.

Witnesses to the Deed were—

Richard Wentworth	Henry Smith
W. Shipman	William Kymberley
Robert Butler	Thomas Kimbreley
Henry Cowper	Francis Phipes and
Reneld Tucklie	Nicholas Crosse

I cannot find any mention of a rent to be paid to the grantors. The next is a lease, 1574, for 21 years from Wm. Phypps, Kep(er), Roger Fellde, Henry Martin, Thomas Wylls and William Jeffery of Maxstoke, to Francis Kimberly of Maxstoke, to farm this meadow, which he had then in his possession, in 1574, but from whom he had it, there is no evidence available to prove. The usual clauses as to distraint, reposession, and as to maintenance, follow. The witnesses to this deed were—

Steven Verney Esquyer	Jhon Dettrigg yoman
Jhon Purefey	Thos. Wills yoman and
Thomas Drownce gentleman	William Jeffery

In 1585, eleven years later, Roger Fiellde of Maxstoke, one of the original grantees of 1571, takes upon himself to grant the same meadow to his son Ambrose Feellde of Packington, subject to the Lord of the fee and warrants it against all comers. "Sealed delivered and possession and Livery and Seisin was given by "the said Roger Fylde of the medow in this present deed specyfyed according "to the tenor of the same deed in the presens of Thomas Fyke Thomas K(ava)te "Robert Fylde Thomas Leute John Gwyffen and others."

Nineteen years afterwards, in 1590, Henry Martin alias Fyelde, presented his petition (probably to the Brothers Phypps and Ambrose Field) for by an indenture dated 24th August in that year, Francis Phypps, William Phypps and Ambrose Feild, gave to Henry Martin alias Field, the meadow and the reversion thereof that Thomas Jennyns and Edward Forthe had received from Queen Elizabeth, on his paying one shilling to them. They also delivered up all deeds and evidences concerning the meadow. He was to pay for the said meadow 8/– per annum towards the relief of the poor, with a clause empowering them to destrain after 10 days. Then to make this grant of more effect, on the same day the churchwardens and parishioners signed an Indenture to the effect "that wee the said "Nicholas Gryffin, Thomas Barlowe churchwardens, Thomas Wills, William Hale, "William Jeffery, Thomas Field, alias Marten, William Burten, Robert Benett, Henry "Dakins upon the first part, Francis Phipps, William Phipps, and Ambrose Feild, "upon the second part, and Henry Marten alias Field, upon the third part. Witnesseth "that we the said Nicholas Griffin, Thomas Barlow, etc., being parishioners of the "said parish of Maxstoke and the rest of the inhabitants of the said parish, being "moved in pyttye, for that the auncestors of one Henry Marten alias Feild, was "defrauded of the Inheritance of a certen meadowe late in the tenure of one Frauncis "Kymberley, which said meadow was conveyed to one William Phipps deceased "and others to the use of the said parish of Maxstoke have willinglie consented and "agreed, yea and have laboured and requested Francis Phipps and William Phipps, "sons of the said William deceased and Ambrose Field, to enfeoffe and grant the "said meadowe unto the said Henry Martene and his heirs, and for further assurance "thereof we the persones abovesaid doe confirme alowe and ratifie the same assurance "to the said Henry Marten made & in witness theriof and to the end that yt maye "for ever appeare to the posteritie that shall be Inhabitance within the said parish, "the same conveyances was made by the consent and agreement of all the parishioners, "to the end that the said Henry Marten might be restored to his ancient right "and yete that eight shillings yearlie shall be paid to the use of the p'ishe."

There are three copies of the deed, the first signed by fifteen of the inhabitants, the second by eleven, and the third by seven.

It is not stated in any of these documents by whom Henry Marten was defrauded of this meadow, but I surmise that it had been seized by Henry VIII. as one of the chantry lands of the Parish Church, and that would account for it

being in the possession of Thomas Jennyns and Edward Forthe, by grant of Queen Elizabeth in 1591.

It only remains for me to thank the Rev. Sam. Back, Vicar of Maxstoke; William M. Smythe, Esq.; Harding Millward, Esq.; John Wilmot, Esq.; Jethro A. Cossins, Esq., your Hon. Secretary, for the liberal manner in which they have furnished much of the material for this paper.

MAXTOKE.

TURCHIL

(AILMUNDUS)

LIMESIA.

Basilia=David de Lindsei

Wm de Odyngsill

IDA=JOHN DE CLINTON

Sir William de Clinton

Humfrey Earl of Stafford

THE KING HY. VIII.

Edward Duke of Buckingham

THE KING

Sir William de Compton

Peter de Compton

THE KING

Edward Lord Clinton

Willitm Lord Compton

Sir Thos. Egerton (30th of Elizabeth)

Thos. Dilke (41st of Elizabeth)

SLADE

Henry, Son of Walter, of Gt. Barr=Alice, Niece of Parnel, Lady of Barr

Roger Wyaut

Henry

Margaret Higdonys, of Packington Cross=Rob't.=Jenet Kingsford (Edward III.)

Joan=Wm. Perkins de Worcester

Richard Perkins, alias Slade=Margaret Fluytte of Oswestry

Thos. Slade=Elizabeth Wickys

Francis=Mary Coke | Leonard | Margaret | Winifred

Pershore Abbey, Worcestershire.

BY FRANCIS B. ANDREWS, A.R.I.B.A.

17th November, 1897.

ONCERNING the Abbey of St. Mary, at Pershore, many opinions have been expressed from time to time, but among them there are two that attract special attention, on account of their very opposite and very emphatic declarations.

The first is that of Habington, who, toward the end of the 16th or the beginning of the 17th Century, recorded among his Notes on Worcestershire, that: "Peareshore showeth the ruins of an Abbey builded "in King Edgar's reign by Egelward, Duke of Dorset, and hath a market. And "for the Abbey, although it is now (as the rest) nothing, yet, I thinke, long before "the suppression it was very much diminished."

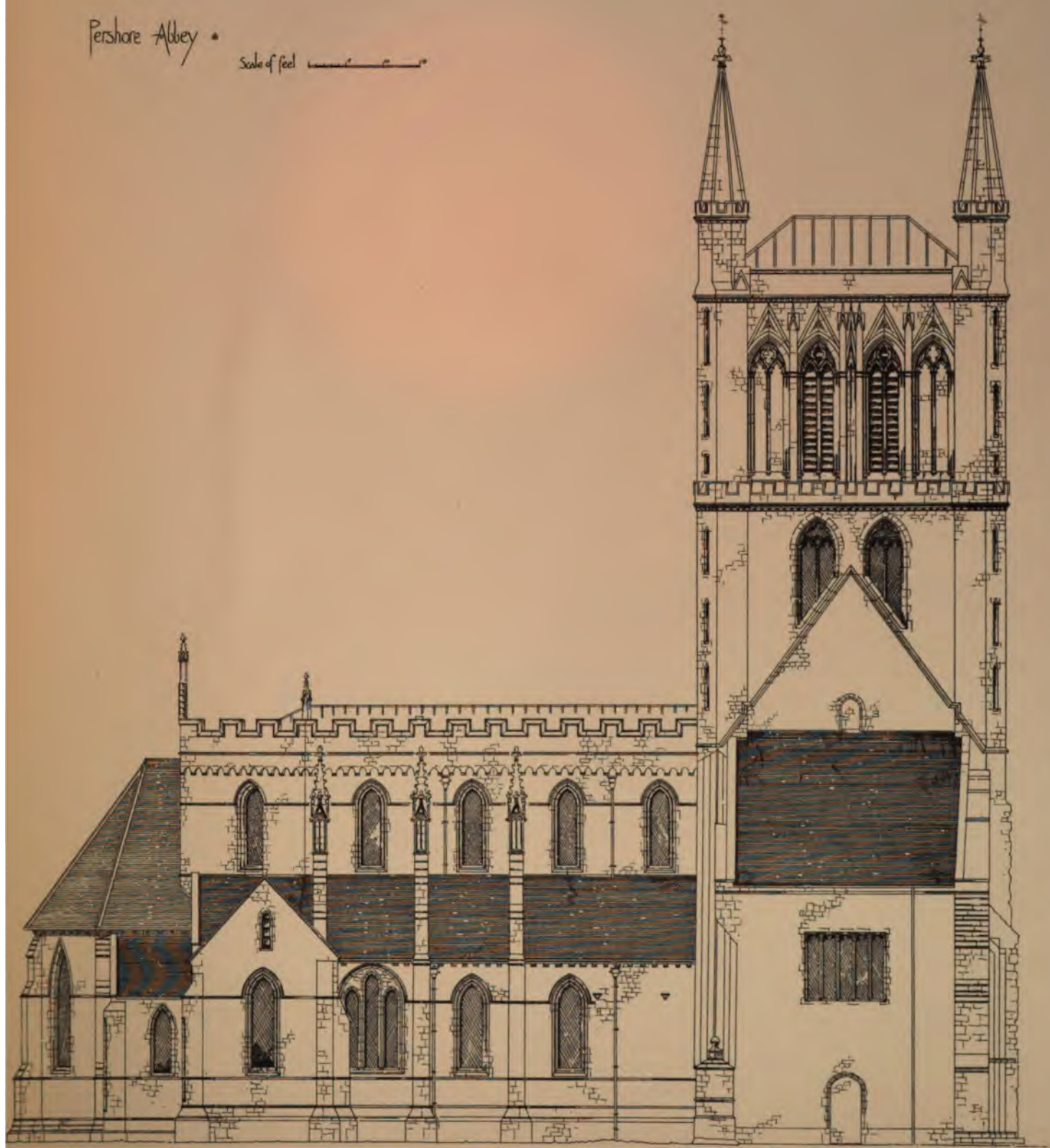
The other opinion is that of the late Sir Gilbert Scott, who said, in reporting to the Abbey Restoration Committee in 1862, that: "The Church is one of peculiar "interest as well historically as from its intrinsic beauty . . . . . an "invaluable relic of a glorious edifice."

Of these opinions I venture to consider the latter to be correct and the former incorrect, and not only so in its statement as to the nothingness of the Abbey, but also in its historic references both to the founder and to the King in whose reign it was founded.

In common with most other monastic institutions of ancient foundation Pershore had to undergo many difficult and trying experiences, which recurred again and again during the earlier years of its existence. The frequency with which the buildings were damaged by fire, the ravages of successive invaders, and the rapacity of those with whom might and right were synonymous terms have so far obscured the early history of the Monastery and its affairs as to make a continuous account of its existence quite impossible. Fragments, only, of its story are to be found here and there, and these often but occasional references in the writings of historians

Pershore Abbey •

Scale of feet



north elevation

measured & drawn by Francis B. Andrews. A.R.I.B.A.

of other places, whose records were not always careful and cannot be entirely relied upon.

Of the original foundation, dates varying from as early as 604 A.D. to so late as 970 A.D., have been given in different records, but without much difficulty these may be sifted down to two, which seem to have almost equal claim for rectitude. They are these, 681 A.D., accepted by Dr. King (1) and Rev. Mackenzie E. Walcott,(2) and 689 A.D., given by Leland (3) and generally acknowledged. But whichever date may be correct the name of the founder is more unanimously agreed upon; it appears to be Oswald, the nephew of Ethelred I., King of Mercia. Following the example of his brother Osric, who had founded Gloucester in 681, he instituted at Pershore a house for secular or missionary clergy, and as he was so largely assisted in his efforts by his royal uncle, doubt has arisen in the minds of some as to whether the King was not actually the founder himself.

The confusion of opinion concerning the date and founder arises from various sources, chiefly however in the frequent restoration or refounding of the Monastery after devastation by fire or pillage, and also in the changes that occurred from time to time in its dedication, and in its occupation alternately by secular clergy and monks; at such times, the loss or destruction of its registers would leave no other authoritative record to be accepted than the earliest in those which replaced them, and in such, by error or by purpose, preceding events became obscured more and more completely with each succeeding change.

Of one of the injuries (4) received by the monastery there is detailed the following account. In the year 796 A.D., it was seized by a Mercian Duke, Delfere, or Defhere (who has been said to be a descendant of the founder), and was very largely injured by him; he had also made himself notorious at other places by like misdoings, and is spoken of in a legend as having received at his death God's judgement on his sins in being eaten up by vermin, and he is referred to as "nequissimus" *(the most wicked)*. His son Oddo so earnestly deprecated the wickedness of his father that he took a vow of celibacy lest any son of his should ever be guilty of so heinous sins; not content with this he and others set themselves to the work of repairing and rebuilding the injured Monastery, and when he died, in 1056, he was buried in the Lady Chapel.

The work remaining of the transept is said to be attributable to the efforts of this man; it is the earliest now existing.

Florence, of Worcester, records this of him: "1056. Earl Oddo, the lover of "churches, the supporter of the poor, the defender of widows and orphans, the "guardian of chastity, having received the monastic habit a month before his

(1) King's "Munimenta Antiqua,"

(2) Archæl. Assos. Trans., 1876.

(3) "In this year, 680, Abbess Hilda died. In these days the Monasteries of Pershore and Gloucester were founded by two brothers . . . Pershore by Oswald . . . it was about the year 689 . . . when they were founded."—Leland Collectanea, vol. i.

(4) Walcott, King.

"death from Bishop Aldred, died at Deerhurst, but being honourably buried in the "Monastery of Pershore, rests there." (1)

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle also mentions him in connection with Pershore: "In this year (1056) died Earl Odda, and his body lies at Pershore, and he was "ordained monk before his end, a good man and pure and very noble, and he died "on the IInd of the Kal. of September" (31st Aug.).

The lead coffin containing his remains was dug up in 1259, when excavations for the pavement, completing the Early English Lady Chapel, were going on. The lid bore the following inscription:—"Odda Dux quondam priscis temporibus "Ædwinus vocatus in baptismo cultor Dei qui monachus effectus fuit ante mortem "ovam hic requiescit. Sit ei gaudium in pace cum Christo Dei. Amen."

The Abbey of Pershore was at one time very wealthy, and its possessions extended to places at some distance. King Edgar's Charter, in 972 A.D., ratified that given it at an earlier date, which had been obtained for it by Duke Beornoth,(2) one of its refounders; it confirmed its holdings, which then comprised some three hundred manses, farms, and other properties. A list (3) has been given as follows: In Brihtue and Fingtune, ten manses, sixteen in Ecintune *(Eckington)*. ten in Çumbrinctune *(Comberton)*, five in Pedneshamme *(Pensham)*, ten in Deopanforda *(Defford)*, ten in Strengensho *(Strensham)*, ten in Bettesforda *(Besford)*, others in Cromban *(Crome)*, ten in Stoce *(Severn Stoke)*, ten in Pyritune *(Pirton)*, four in Wadbreorham *(Wadborough)*, three in Civingtune *(Chivington)*, three in Broctune *(Broughton Hackett)*, ten in Piplincetune *(Peopleton)*, ten in Snoddesbyri *(Upton Snodsbury)*, seven in Niwantune *(Naunton)*, four in Eadbrihtrincgtune five in Wihtblafestune, five in Floeferth *(Flyford)*, five in Grattune *(Grafton)*, five in Deormodesealdtune *(Dormeston?)*, five in Husantreo *(Hussingtree)*, five at Meretune *(Martin)*, three in Broctune *(Broughton)*, two in Hleobyri *(Old borough)*, thirty in Langandune *(Longdon)*, seven in Poincgurc *(Powick)*, three in Beornothesleahe, three in Actune *(Acton Beauchamp)*; in Suthstoce, at Hileahe *(Hill Crome?)*, Treshaa, Cyllincocotan, Ealdanburi, Dydimeretune, Badimyncatine, and Upton forty manses, ten in Deorham *(Doddenham?)* five in Longahege, six at Lidanege *(Littleton or Lindridge?)*, six in Wiggangeate, five in Beoleahe *(Beoley)*, five in Gyrdeleahe *(Yardley, near Birmingham)*, ten in Sture *(Stourbridge or Shipston-on-Sture?)*, twenty in Bradanwege *(Broadway)*, five in Coltune, ten in Wicweunan *(Wick)*; and for making salt room for eighteen pans, ten at Middlewic, and eight at Neodemestanwic *(Netherwic)*; two refineries at Wicktune *(Witton)*, and another salt pan at Westrincge *(all in or near Droitwich)*, and a manse and a part of another at Hortune *(Hampton Lovett)*.

To enrich the Westminster monks, some of the early Kings made over portions of the properties of various provincial Monasteries, and in this way Pershore suffered from time to time.

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(1) ex. Noake.
(2) [illegible]ale's Monasticon.
(3) [illegible]dentification has been possible.

William of Malmsbury said it was "miserable to observe how great damage "this and other religious houses" had sustained, having "lost more that half their "revenues; one part the ambition of the rich devoured, another is buried in oblivion, "and the greatest portion of all was bestowed by King Edward the Confessor and "William the Conqueror on Westminster."

Habington also says that: "Westminster Monastery hath not only a great share "in this hundred, but alsoe a part of Peareshore Town; for the Kings of England "advanced Westminster, the Church of their coronation and sepulture."

At the time of the Domesday Book, Dugdale states the revenue of Pershore to be £79, which was nearly a third less than it was previous to the time of Edward the Confessor. He gives an account of the possessions then held by the Monastery, as follows: "the Church of Pershore is stated to have possessed five hides at "Kvlege, and seventeen at Havockesberie in *Gloucestershire*: the former property "valued at 100 shillings per year, the latter which had previously produced sixteen "was reduced to ten pounds. In *Worcestershire* the monks held the manor of "Pershore, consisting, with the berewicks or hamlets of Circintone, Edbritone, "Wadberge, Broctune, Edbritintune, Wicha, and Cumbritone, of twenty-six hides. "In Wicha a salt refinery which yielded thirty mits (or 300 bushels) of salt. In "Beolege the monks held twenty-one hides, twenty in Sture, thirty in Bradewic, 'three in Lege, and five at Matina, one of which was in *Herefordshire*."

In this Survey also, Westminster is quoted as having got hold of parts of Pershore, Wick, Pensham, Birlingham, Bricklehampton, Defford, Besford, Longton, Powick, Snodsbury, Dormeston, Martin-Hussingtree, North Pyddle, Naunton, Grafton Flyford, Pirton, another Pyddle, and another Grafton, Peopleton, Great and Little Comberton, Broughton, Nafford, and Severn Stoke.

Some of the properties were let on life leases, one in Pershore on two lives, another in Wadborough for three lives. (1)

Circset, church contribution on the first-fruits of harvest, appears to have been paid on three hundred hides. (1)

The Monastery was at first instituted for secular or preaching clergy, the head-quarters for their mission work in the district; it was afterwards taken from them, either during actual occupancy or in their absence after some fire, and given to the monks, and from time to time was alternately held by one or the other. It first came into the hands of the Benedictines (or Black Monks) through the influence and contrivance of Archbishop Dunstan, who appealed to King Edgar, about 960 A.D., for the appointment of Oswald to the then vacant bishopric of Worcester, and gaining his request, he consecrated and enthroned him himself. Oswald, after having introduced the Benedictines into the Cathedral, extended his efforts to the various monasteries in his district, and at Westbury, Winchcombe, and Pershore he ousted

(1) Dugdale's Monasticon.

all the seculars who refused to take the monastic vows and habit of the order. At the death of Edgar another and temporalily successful effort was made to restore the secular clergy, but it was ultimately abandoned, and after a few years of disquietude the monks settled down, and in 983-4 A.D. Foldbrith is recorded (1) as the first Benedictine Abbot.

The fires that so frequently damaged the early structures of the Monastery were due in a considerable measure to the large use of timber in the construction of buildings in those times, and although as the centuries advanced its use was superseded by that of stone, still the monks are often recorded as having to rebuild and repair their premises after disaster by fire. The first definite record of such is of the re-entry of the monks into a new church after a fire in 1002 (2) A.D. (or 1020?)

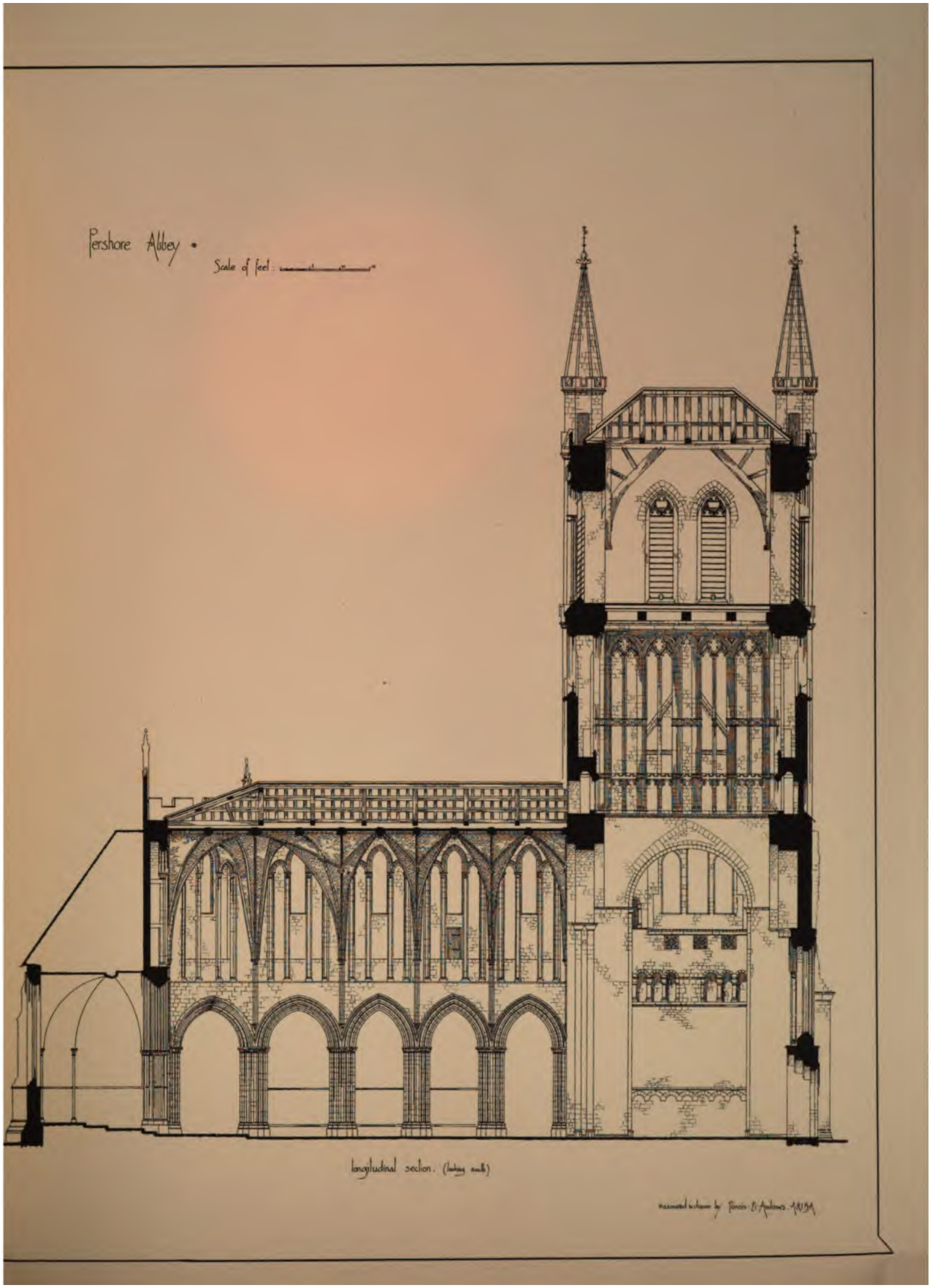
In 1102 another is mentioned. In 1223 A.D., (3) on St. Alban's or St. Urban's Day the eastern arm of the church was entirely destroyed by fire, and the Abbot and his monks rebuilt it with the present magnificent structure. In this effort royal mandate was given for timber (some 36 trees) from the Crown forests; and in 1239 the new work was consecrated by the Bishop of Worcester.

Another and most disastrous fire broke out in 1288. It occurred on the 22nd of April, originating in the bakehouse, whence it rapidly spread to the adjacent apartments and the church, and was not abated until great destruction had been wrought, and some forty houses in the town had been burned down. (4) The domestic buildings of the Monastery were almost entirely destroyed, the Church was very much damaged, the Norman superstructure of the tower had fallen, and the nave, choir, and transepts were no doubt roofless and more or less injured by falling debris from the tower. It was after this fire that the present vaulting of the choir and south transept was executed, and the lantern tower constructed on the arches of the crossing that remained standing.

In aid of the Monastery in rebuilding after fire, or in other ways to assist it, gifts and grants were made at various times by the Crown.

At the time of its foundation Ethelred of Mercia was lavish in his gifts and assistance to those who were endeavouring to institute a religious house in his kingdom, but between his time and that of Edward the Confessor no other king is mentioned as having assisted it; this, however, must be due to the loss of record, for there can be but little doubt that others were among its benefactors. Again, after another gap, the next mentioned is John, who on Aug. 15th, 1204, visited Pershore, and sent a command to the sheriff of Gloucester to forward to the monks some casks of wine for a feast on one of their holy days. Henry III. granted —chiefly in aid of the fire of 1223—not only the timber for reconstruction but a fair to be held on St. Edburga's and the two following days in the churchyard of Holy Cross, so that by letting out the ground for stalls, money was annually brought

(1) Ann. Worc. (2) Dugdale. (3) Leland. (4) Ann. Wigorn.


Pershore Abbey
Scale of feet:
longitudinal section. (looking south)
measured & drawn by Francis B. Andrews. A.R.I.B.A.

into the treasuries of the Monastery. Since 1836, the fair has been moved into the town, and is held in June. Its existence in the churchyard caused much damage to the buildings and tombs which were much misused on such occasions. Henry granted also another fair to be held at Broadway, and yet another at Hawkesbury, and free warren rights in various royal preserves. Edward I. visited the town and stayed there eight days in 1281, and again in 1294. Edwards II. and III. also were benefactors of the monastery, and Henrys V. and VI. granted the continuance of its former privileges and in some small measure augmented them.

Other benefactions than those from royal hands were received by the Monastery. Of such it is recorded (1) that the sum of two shillings, to be paid yearly, was received by Abbot Leye about 1290, for lights in the Chapel of St. Mary, and that one of the inhabitants of the town gave, about the same time, some land for the use of the Monastery and "for the good of his soul," and also to the chapel of St. Michael the sum of £4 15s. 0d. and other land. Nash records that a certain Christopher Westerdale bequeathed 18d. for an annual mass to be said in the Chapel of St. John the Baptist. The principal benefactor in later times was Sir Adam de Hervington,(2) who gave one hundred and forty-three marks (£95 6s. 8d.), and land and houses valued £10 per annum, to endow a chantry, and another sum of nine marks to the special priests of that chantry. (The pension of the priest of this chapel was valued at £6 in Henry VIII.'s *Valor*, and the plate and ornaments are referred to as being valued at 4s. and 44s. respectively).

In 1277 and 1282, Pershore was required to assist in the wars with the Welsh,(3) and in 1346 Edward III, called upon it to subscribe one hundred marks for his French campaigns, and again in the following year it was required to send thither four sacks of wool.

Richard II. entered into a bond for twenty marks with the Abbot of Pershore, who had granted him a loan for that amount.

The dedication of the Abbey varied at different times in its history. In the Domesday it is called the Abbey of "*St. Mary*"; in Henry VIII.'s Valor "*St. Edburga.*" It has also been called after "*SS. Mary, Edburga, and Holy Cross,*"(4) (the parochial portion was dedicated to the *Holy Cross*). In its earlier years *SS. Peter and Paul* were its patron saints, but at the time of the introduction of the Benedictines it was probably dedicated to *St. Mary*, with whom was joined *St. Edburga* whose relics had then not long been added to its treasures. This latter saint is said to have been the third daughter of Edward the Elder (and grand-daughter of Alfred the Great); legend says that from infancy she evidenced inclinations towards religion, which on one occasion was tested by her father who offered her a choice

(1) Original Deed in Augmentation Office.
(2) Henry VIII.'s *Survey of Chantries.*
(3) Palgrave Parl. Writs.
(4) The Altar of Holy Cross is referred to in the Valor of Pope Nicholas, 1291, as being in the Church of the Monastery.

between jewels and toys and a book of the Gospels; she extended her hand not for the toys but for the book, at which action the King was highly gratified and took it to be a presage of the choice of life she would afterwards make; she became a nun, entered a convent at Winchester, and died there in 960; shortly afterwards Egilwado, nephew of the Abbess of that convent, obtained by special favour,(1) and on payment of £100, some of her bones—the back portion of the skull, some ribs and smaller bones—and brought them to Pershore, where they were enshrined in a gilt coffin; the legend continues to say that miracles of healing were effected at the shrine wherein they lay.

There is but little other notice of the Abbey to be found. In 1259 it is recorded that the Lady Chapel was still in progress, probably nearly complete, and in 1345 permit was granted by Bishop Wolstan for the founding of a Chantry Chapel to Sir Adam de Hervington, which was probably one at the east end of the south choir aisle or the one breaking out of it toward the south.

Concerning two of the Abbots the following incidents are recorded. The first is legendary, but is given by the historian Eadmer, as being entirely true.(2) He tells of Abbot Foldbrith, that after death, as the body lay awaiting burial, it suddenly became re-animated, arose, and sat erect. Some monks who were keeping vigil by it, with Abbot Germanus of Winchcombe, fled, but he, undismayed, charged the spirit in the name of the Lord that if the miracle was of heaven its cause should be at once made known. It replied that in heaven its sins had been charged against it by St. Benedict, but through the fervency of the prayers of Oswald, it had been pardoned, and its mission was now to acquaint the world that Oswald was one of the greatest saints that had ever lived. Germanus asked how St. Benedict appeared in heaven, and how he was clad, to which the spirit replied that the holy saint "appeared most beautiful, and the most nobly clad of any, shining with "precious stones, and attended by innumerable multitudes of monks and nuns, all "most beautiful." After remaining half a day, the spirit finally departed.

The other incident concerns Abbot Newnton. In 1427, one John Lockyer, was accused of(3) defaming this Abbot, and as a punishment he was condemned to be whipped three times round Worcester Market on Market day, and as many times round Pershore Parish Church on Sunday, having only his shirt and breeches on, and carrying a taper of 6lbs. weight in his hand, which he was to offer after the reading of the Gospel, and to request the offended Abbot to scourge him as a penitent.

At the suppression of religious houses in the 16th Century we find further notice of Pershore.

To Thomas Cromwell—the Crown-appointed Vicar-General, who headed the

(1) Obtained by Egilwado and given by him to Pershore.—*Dean Spence.*
(2) Given by Leland, Malmesbury, and King.
(3) Noake.

Visitation Inquiry in 1535—was addressed the following remarkable letter,[1] by Richard Beerley, one of the monks:—

"Most reverent Lord in God second person yn thys rem of Englond ynduyd with all grace and goodnes y submytt myselfe unto yor grace desiryng you to be good and gracyus lord vnto me synful and poor creatur. My lowly and myck scrybullying vnto yor nobull grace at thys tyme ys gruggyng yu my conchons that the relygyon wych we do obser and keype ys no rull of Sentt Benett nor yt no commandyment of God nor of no Sentt but lyzth and foulysse serymonys mayd sume yn old tyme and sume yn or tyme by lyzth and ondyscrytt faders wych have done ther dutys and fulfellyd ther owne serymonys an lett the preceps and commandyments of God go and so have y do thys syx yere wyche doth now greve my conchons sore that y have bye a dyssymblar so long tyme the wyche relygyon says Sentt Jamys ys yn vayne and brynggng forth no good frutts bettr owtt then yn the relygyon except yt were the tru relygyon of Chryst also we do nothyng serch for the doctryn of Chryst but all fololoye or owne sensyaly and pleser and thys relygyon as y supposse ys all yn vayne glorry and nothyng worthy to be except nathur before God nor man. Also most gracyus lord ther ys a secrett thyng yn my conchons wyche do the move me to goo owt of the relygyon and yf yt were never so perfet wyche no man may know but my gostly fader the wych y suppos yf a man mothe juge yn other yong persons as yn me selfe for Chryst say nolite judicare et non judicabimini therefore y wyl juge my nowne conchons fyrst the wych fault he shall know of me heyr aftr more largyorly and many other fowll vycys don a monckst relygyus men not relygyus men as y thynk the owtt not to be cald but dyssymblars wt God. Now most gracyus lord and most worthyst vycytar that ever cam a moncks us helpe me owt of thys vayne relygyon and macke me yor servant handemayd and beydman and save my sowlle wych shold be lost yf ye helpe yt not the wych you may save wt on word speckyng and mayk me wych am now nawtt to cum unto grace and goodnes. Now y wyll yustrux yor grace sumwatt of relygyus men and how the kyngs graces commandyment ys keyp yn puttyng forth of bocks the beyschatt of roms vserpt power moncks drynk an bowl aftr collacyon tell ten or xii of the clock and cum to mattens as dronck as myss and sume at cards sume at dryss and at tabulls sume cum to mattens begēy sume at the myds and sume when yt ys all most done and wold not cum ther so only for boddly punnysment not thyng for Gods sayck wt many other vycys the vse wych y have no leser now to express also abbotts moncks prests don lyttyl or nothyng to putt owt of bocks the beyschatt of romes name for y my selfe do know in dyu'rs bocks wher ys name and hys vserpt powor apon vs ys. No more vnto yor nobul grace at thys tyme but Jesu preserve you to pleser Amen. Your commyssary commandyd me to wrytt my mynd vnto yor nobul grace by my outhe y toyk of hym yu or chaptr hows.

To my nobull and gracyus lord
Vycytar yn the kyngs cortt be
thys byl delyvord yn hast.

Be me yor beydman Dan
Ryc Beeley now monck yn
the Monastery of Pershor."

(1) Given by many authorities.

This man was evidently an imposter, having doubtless been purposely placed at Pershore that his evidence might form the basis of the Commissioners' demands for the resignation of the Monastery. It was an expedient resorted to elsewhere, and the reports sent in were entered into a book called "The Black Book," which was laid on the table in the House of Commons in 1536.

On Aug. 20th, 1534, John Poletensio, *Abbot;* (1) John Fladbury, *Prior;* Robert Cheltenham, *Sub-Prior;* Richard Langley, *Firmarer;* John Bradney, *Sacrist;* James Brereton, Richard Mathon, *Chanter;* Gilbert Burton, *Kitchener;* Thos. Pepuetor; John Compton, *Almoner;* William Hawkesbury, *Succentor;* Will. Worcester, *Sub-Sacrist;* John Candycroft; Richard Alcester, *Sacellar;* Thos. Upton, Andrew Streynsham, George Evysham, Thomas Walcott, and Richard Beerley, signed their names to the documents of the King's supremacy, and thus terminated the existence of the Monastery of Pershore.

Henry settled pensions (2) on most of the Abbots, and many of the Monks of the suppressed Monasteries; at Pershore the Abbot received a pension of £160, in receipt of which he lived for some twenty years; and the Monks received annuities in various sums to a total amount of £104.

The Abbey was valued after it had passed into the hands of the Commissioners at about £645. Dugdale gives it at £643 4s. 5d.; Stevens at £633 13s. 11d.; and Speed at £666 13s.

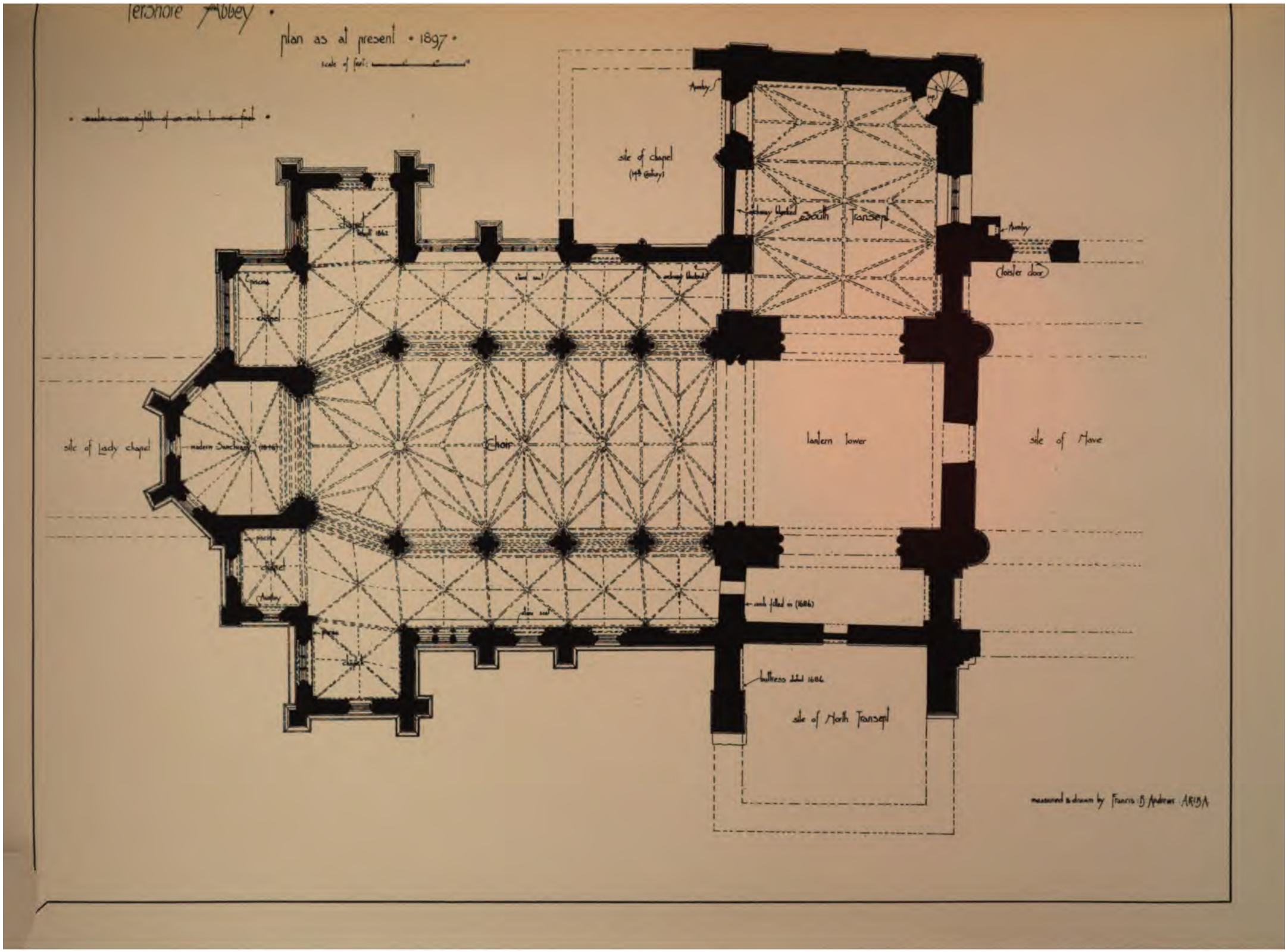
Of the fabric of the Church only the Choir, Transepts, and Tower, and their various Chapels were retained; the Nave and Conventual buildings were demolished, and the materials variously disposed of subsequently. It is difficult to assign a reason for the selection of the conventual portion of the Church (which is the part that was retained) in preference to the Nave that contained the parochial altar of the Holy Cross. In most cases where choice was compulsory the nave was preferred, though at Little Malvern, Boxgrove, Usk, and a few other places, the choir, as here, was retained.

Pershore Abbey was granted (3) with the lands, buildings, vineyard, and manors of Old and New Pershore, Abbotswood, and Wadborough, and the fair and market of the town, with all the rights, privileges, liberties, and other valuables connected therewith, to William and Francis Sheldon. The grant cost £483 5s. 3d.

One of the books of the Monastery—the *Chartulary*—is now in the Augmentation Office. It consists of one hundred and sixteen vellum leaves, and contains entries of various deeds, &c., none of which can be referred back to earlier than the 13th Cent.; it was discovered in 1620, and then sent to the keeper of the Records of that Office.

Leland mentioned two books that were in the Monastery Library in his time,

(1) Walcott, ex. Prat. MSS.
(2) Grant in Augmentation Office.
(3) Grant in Augmt. Off.


Tershore Abbey
plan as at present • 1897 •
scale of feet:
site of chapel
South Transept
Aumbry
(Cloister door)
chapel
piscina
Choir
lantern tower
site of Lady chapel
site of Nave
chapel
Aumbry
piscina
chapel
arch filled in (1686)
buttress 1686
site of North Transept
measured & drawn by Francis B Andrews ARIBA

"Ælfrici Grammatica Latino-Saxonica," and "Parabolas Solomonis Apocalypsim," by Bede.

The Arms of the Abbey were at one time: *sable*, a cross ragulée *or*; at another, and later period, *sable*, a chevron *or*, surmounted by three holly leaves *proper* (some say *vert*) between three ant hills of the same, each hill surmounted by four ants *proper*.(1)

The Seal—an impression of which is in Westminster Abbey Chapter House—has in its circumference this inscription: "SIGILLUM BEATÆ MARIÆ ET "SANCTÆ EADBURGÆ VIRGINIS ECCLESIAE PERSORIENSIS" *(The Seal of the Blessed Mary and of the Holy Virgin Edburga of the Church at Pershore.)* It shows the Virgin seated on a throne with the infant on her knee; above, to the right, is a crescent, and to the left over the infant's head, a star; on the right and left of the throne are two figures, the left one apparently holds two keys; and under a trefoil below is a monk, having on his right a chalice and on his left a book, open. Nash, in his description of a seal (probably the same), mentions an angel adoring above the throne, and does not refer to a crescent. He also says there are figures of St. Edburga and of an angel offering a ring. There is another seal, an impression of which shows it to have had an inscription in the margin, but it is much worn and only the word "PERSORE" and some odd letters here and there can be deciphered. It exhibits an Abbot in full vestments, bearing a pastoral staff. Other seals also have been mentioned. Some of these may have been Abbots' seals only.

Of the Abbots there is a fairly complete list, as follows:—

983 FOLDBRITH(2) (variously given as Folbert, Fulbert, Foldbright, Floberht, and Ealdbright) was the first. Installed by Oswald of Worcester in 983–4. Died in 988. Of him is related that curious story of temporary resuscitation. There is a portrait panel in the walls of Beoley Church, Worcestershire (in which district Pershore had possessions) supposed by some to be of this Abbot.

988 ———

1032 BRICTHEGE. He succeeded to Worcester in 1033.

1033 ———

1044 ALFRIC.

—— ROGER. Died in 1074.

1074 EADMUND. Died in 1085.

1085 TURSTAN or THURSTAN, a monk of Gloucester. Died 1087.

1087 ———

1102 GUIDO. For his misconduct deposed in the same year by Archbishop Anselm. Died 1137.

1102 ———

(1) Nash.

(2) Among the various authorities for names, dates, &c., on this list are Ann. Worc., Leland, King, Dugdale, Nash, Walcott, Noake, &c.—Willis and Prat. MSS., &c., &c.

1138 WILLIAM. Ordained by the Bishop of Worcester.

1140 THOMAS. Died 1161.

1162 REGINALD.

1170 ROGER. Died 1174.

1175 SIMON DE AMBRESLEY. Died 4th of the Ides of May, 1198, at Bermondsey.

1198 ANSELM. A monk at Reading. Died 1203.

1203 SIMON. Confirmed at Worcester on All Saints' Day.

1204 GERVASE. He carried out the work of the present Choir after the fire of 1223. Died Easter-day, 1234.

1234 ROGER DE RADELY or RUDELEY. A monk of Pershore. He was blessed at Worcester, and paid fees for a cope and alb, and 40/- for procuration. Died 1249.

1249 ELER or ELFRIC. Prior of Cogges, in Oxfordshire. Resigned in 1262 on Oct. 24th. During this abbacy the Lady Chapel was completed.

1263 HENRY DE BIDEFORD. He was once summoned to attend at Parliament.

1274 HENRY DE CALDWELL. Sacrist of Pershore. Died at Leye Manor 6th of the Nones of March, 1289.

1289 WILLIAM DE LEYE. Elected on 14th of the Cal. of April. Cellarer. He was summoned to Parliament (1) in 1294, and again in 1299. The King (Edward I.) was guest at the Abbey in 1294.

Some trouble occurred in 1299, during or between this and the next Abbot, and the services of the Church were suspended, but at length reconciliation was effected by the interposition of the Bishop of Llandaff.

1304 (6?) WILLIAM DE HERVINGTON. Resigned 1340. Probably the effigy now existing in the Church of an Abbot is his. During his abbacy St. Andrew's Church, Pershore, was attached to the Monastery.

1340 THOMAS DE PYRITON. Cellarer. Royal assent was given on May 16th. Died July 3rd, 1350. Of this Abbot Edward III. borrowed money and wool.

1350 PETER DE PENDOCK. Appointed Aug. 30th (Nash, Aug. 5th). Resigned 1363.

1363 (Sept. 9th) PETER DE BRADWAY.

1379 THOMAS UPTON. Said to have been drowned in crossing the Avon by boat in 1413. The Churches of Broadway and Eckington and St. Peter's, Worcester, were appropriated during his abbacy.

1413 WILLIAM DE NEWNTON.(2) Died Feb. 14th, 1450. His rebus is on one of the shields in the south transept roof—"W. Newn"—with a tun beneath.

1450 ———

1456 (April 22nd) EDMUND HERT. Resigned April 15th, 1478. Habington considers the effigy to be his.

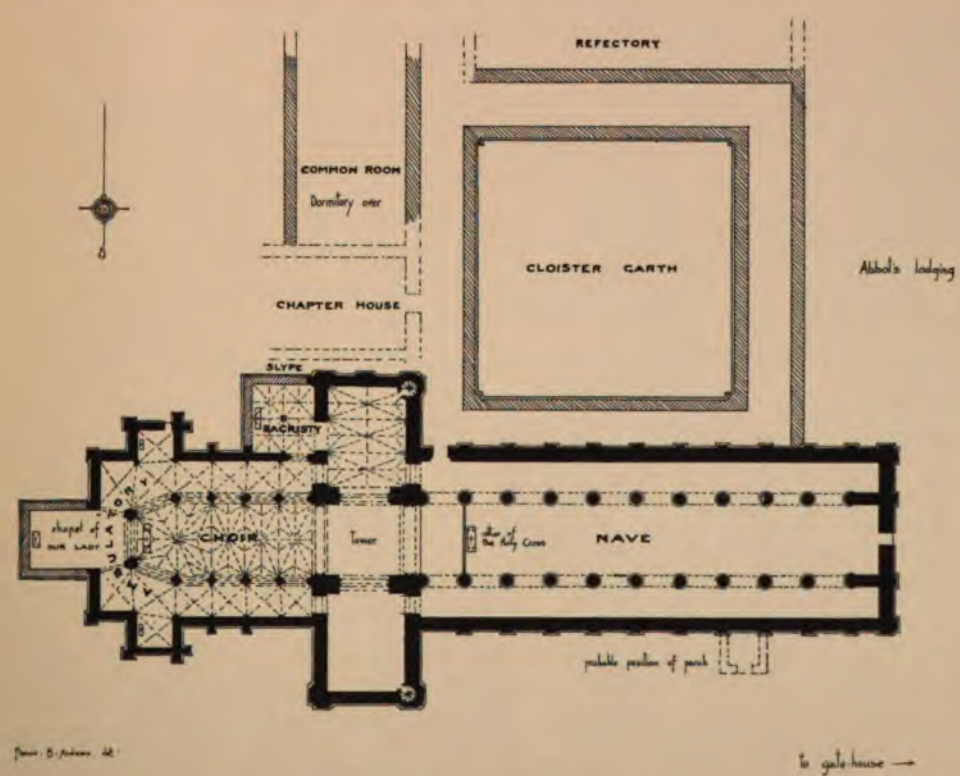
(1) Pershore was a mitred Abbey, and its Abbot might sit in Parliament.
(2) De Naunton Nash thinks.

1478 (April 26th) ROBERT STANWAY.
1497 (Aug. 27) JOHN PYBLETON. Died 1504.
1504 (Mar. 25th) WILLIAM COMPTON. A monk of Tewkesbury.
1527 (Oct. 16th) JOHN STONEWELL, D.D. Prior of Gloucester Hall, Oxford. Died July, 1553. He bequeathed much of his goods to the Church of St. James, Longdon, attached to which he had a Chantry. He was Suffragan Bishop by the title "Poletensis," using which he signed the documents of Henry's supremacy in 1534.

The Monastic Buildings.

Of the architecture of the Monastery as a whole no certain account can be given, for much has been destroyed; but a considerable part of the general plan has been discovered by excavations made at various times. These have not however defined the position of all the monastic apartments or their extent, because in some cases the foundations have been totally removed, and in others new building raised upon them. Therefore, some portions of the plan must be left to conjecture.

The whole site probably occupied about ten acres, and was arranged on the usual lines of a Bendictine Monastery.



GENERAL GROUND PLAN.

The Cloister occupied the customary position on the south side of the Church; it was about 100 feet square, and was entered from the Nave; there remains in the south-east bay, adjoining the transept, a doorway of the 13th Century work, having clustered jambs, carrying a richly moulded arch of beautiful proportion; near this entrance, and on the cloister side of it, is a small aumbry.

The position of the Fratery, the Chapter House (of oblong plan), the Common Room or Parlour (with the dormitory over), and the Slype, and the location of the Abbot's Lodge, Gatehouse, and Entrance Archway, are the only other parts of the plan of which there is any certain knowledge.

The Monks' Cemetery lay in an easterly direction, perhaps where the churchyard of St. Andrew's now is; and the Vineyard occupied a considerable portion of Allesborough Hill, about half a mile distant.

THE CHURCH.—Of the Nave, foundations have been discovered showing it to have consisted of ten bays, about 180 feet in total length and 60 feet in width, built in the Norman (or *Romanesque*) style of architecture, early in the 12th Century.

It was of great similarity (1) to those of the sister churches at Gloucester (2) *(date 1100 A.D.)*, and Tewkesbury *(date 1120 A.D.)*, and the builders were probably associated with each other, and possibly under the same general directions; Gloucester being executed first, then Tewkesbury, and last, probably, Pershore. Each building has the same massive round piers with uncarved caps, and plain semi-circular arches, with triforia and clerestories considerably compressed on account of the peculiarly lofty proportions of the arcades beneath.

Only the responds to the west of the crossing, and a fragment of one bay on the north side still stand. The western arches of the tower and aisles, were blocked up at the time of the demolition of the Nave, and the doorway and two-light windows over it now in existence, replaced others inserted at or soon after the closing of these arches—the present were part of the restorations of 1862. Some fragments of finely tapering pinnacles have been lately discovered, which strongly suggest the lines of those of the western turrets of Tewkesbury—and it may have been that Pershore's Nave had a somewhat similar termination at its western end.

THE TRANSEPT.—The Transept was about 160 feet long and 40 feet wide. The northern portion is said to have fallen in the 17th Century. The work of the remaining portion, the south, is of very early Norman period, having large joints and ornamental details and mouldings of characteristic design. It has been said to be a part of Oddo's work shortly previous to the Norman Conquest. The exterior shews a corbel table with grotesquely carved heads. On the west side is a window inserted in the 15th Century; it is of similar style and was executed about the same time as others in the south aisle of the Choir. High up in the south gable is some peculiar interlacing arcading, below which is a plain triplet lancet

(1) Walcott.

(2) Dean Spence says, Serlo, of Gloucester, was its Architect and also of the other work of the same period.

window of Early English period, and on a level with and below which on the interior, are small round-arched arcades, screening passages in the thickness of the wall, continued on the east side, to connect with the triforium passage of the choir; some of the shafts and caps of these arcades are enriched with chevrons and grotesque carvings. The groined vault is of early 15th century work, and bears the rebus of Abbot Newnton (1413—50), and other arms and devices on heater-shaped shields as bosses and corbels.

Dr. King notes to the staircase in the south-west corner in its peculiarity in being projected in the interior of the building, the more usual course being to build such staircases in the thickness of the walls, or to project them on the exterior in turrets. He also refers to the diamond enrichment of the lowest internal arcade, and says it is of "diamond work manifestly of such a kind as one would take them "rather to have been meant for a lady's pattern for needlework than for an architect's "design in building"; it is very small in detail for the period.

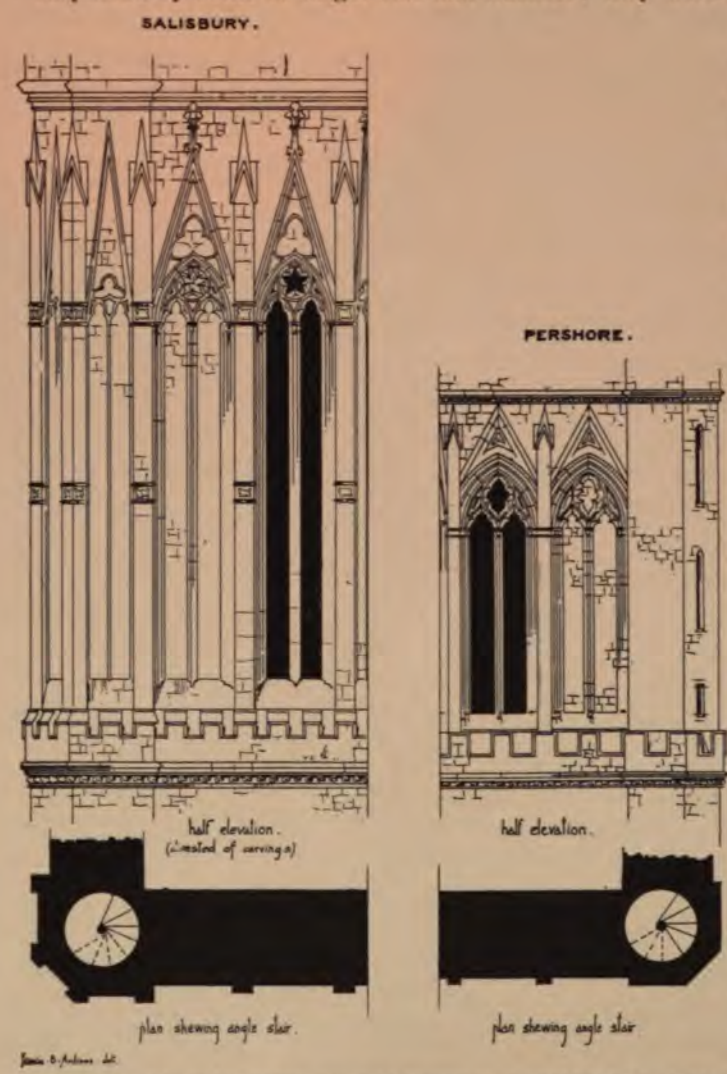
THE TOWER.—The Lantern Tower is of early 14th Century work; it measures about 40 feet square externally and 30 feet internally. It bears a most striking resemblance, though plain in detail, to the design of the Tower of Salisbury Cathedral. It stands on four lofty Norman arches, springing from massive piers, faced on each side with coupled attached three-quarter shafts, having plain caps, with the exception of that at the south-west angle, which is rudely carved. These arches doubtless bore the tower, destroyed by the fire in 1288 A.D., and as about half a century after that fire, the Tower was spoken of as being in ruins, 1330 A.D., will approximate very nearly the date when the present super-structure was commenced and shortly after completed. It rises to a height of 60 feet above these arches, which makes the total from the ground about 116 feet, and to the top of the modern pinnacles 144 feet. Externally, the upper or belfry story, divided from the lower by an embattlemented band (a very rare feature at this period), exhibits on each face four canopied arches, slightly recessed behind the angle stair turrets, and divided by square pilaster shafts, which occur in pairs in the middle of each face. The two central arches on each face are pierced for light, the others are blank, but each have mullions and traceried heads; the lantern story has on each side two traceried windows of two lights, the lower portions of which are shut off by the weather molds of the roofs of the choir and transepts, which rise obliquely on either face. The turrets of the stair are now crowned with modern pinnacles (added by Mr. Scott), but originally they rose only just above the parapet. There exists to the north-east angle of the tower a semi-classic buttress (dated 1686), which was erected when, not having the support of the north transept, the tower was considered somewhat unsafe.

Internally is an exceeding beautiful and unique lantern storey.(1) Of it Mr. Scott said "I hardly know of a lantern storey so beautiful as that of Pershore, it

(1) Scott said also, "with the single exception of Lincoln Cathedral, probably the most beautiful of its class to be found in any English Church."

"stands, so far as I know, quite alone in its design." It is richly panelled and traceried, and is pierced by two passages, one above the other. The mouldings were once decorated in various colours, of which traces still remain, and being intended to be viewed from below, the lower sides only of them have been coloured. From the upper wall passage access is made to a modern ringing stage, arranged so as to interfere as little as possible with the view of the lantern from the floor below.

The Belfry contains eight bells (1), one of the finest peals in the country though surpassed by some of larger size and number; they were cast by Ruddal, of Gloucester, in 1729, except the treble, which dates from early in the present century; the tenor is of about 1½ tons weight, and gives the note of D♭. The original floor being unsafe was replaced in 1836. The timber roof over is an old one, but its date is unknown.



SKETCH OF PORTIONS OF SALISBURY CATHEDRAL AND PERSHORE ABBEY TOWERS.

Sir Gilbert Scott was of the opinion that the architect of Salisbury Cathedral Tower was that of this work also. He compares the two structures, and following his view I have very carefully and specially examined and compared the details of both, and find a most remarkable similarity, not only of general feeling but also of proportion and design. Sir Gilbert says, "It "would have been most "interesting to have ascer-"tained the actual date "and circumstances of this "(Pershore) work, not only

(1) They bear the following inscriptions :—

Tenor : "I to the church the living call ;
"And to the grave do summon all."

7th : "Richard Roberts, Esq., John Yeend, and Thomas Ashfield, gentlemen, Trustees, A.R., 1729

6th : "Walter Marriott and Edmund Cole, churchwardens, 1729."

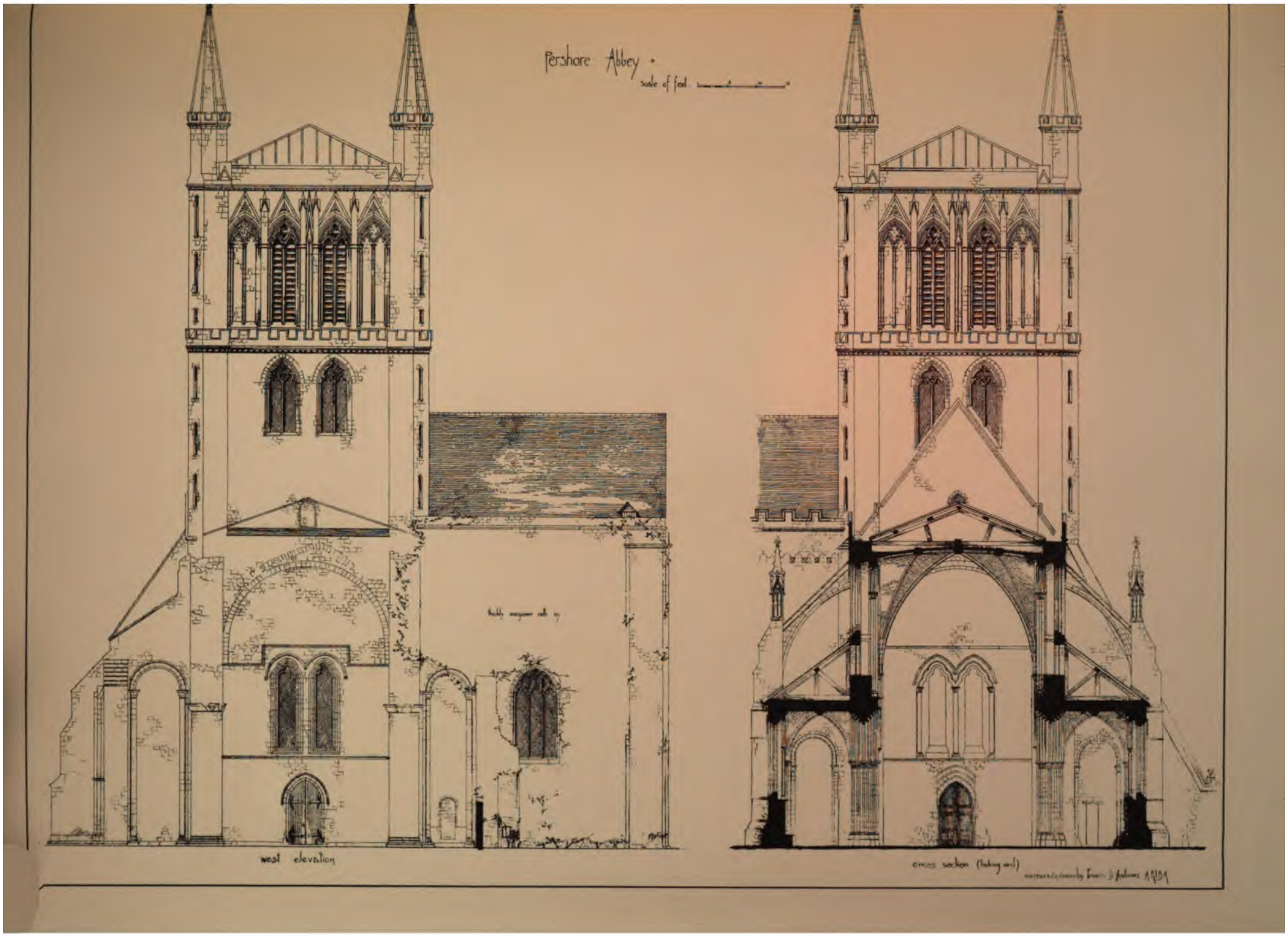
5th : "Prosperity to all our benefactors. A.R. 1729."

4th : "Prosperity to the Church of England."

3rd : "Abraham Ruddall of Gloucester cast all of us."

2nd : "Peace and good neighbourhood."

1st : "Joseph Martin and Thomas Evans, churchwardens, 1814."


Pershore Abbey
scale of feet
west elevation
cross section (looking west)

"as being a remarkably noble specimen of architecture of the 14th Century, but on "account of its containing the most remarkable internal evidence of a connection "of some kind with the greatest parallel work of the age—the central tower of "the Cathedral of Salisbury. It may seem strange at first sight to claim so close "a parallelism between so gorgeous a work as that last named, and one so com-"paratively simple as that of Pershore; yet the more carefully they are compared "the more convincing is the evidence, that they were either designed by the same "hand, or that one was directly imitated from the other. My own belief is that "the former is the case, and that the Tower of Pershore was the slightly later work "of the Salisbury architect."

"At Salisbury, the Cathedral had in the main been completed by the middle "of the 13th Century, or a little later. The central tower, however, had only been "carried a little above the ridges of the four abutting roofs, and the story against "which these roofs impinged was a lantern story, the walls of which were rendered "hollow by a passage through their thickness, fronted towards the interior with elegant "piers forming a window like screen work. The angles expanded into projecting "turrets of peculiar form, neither square nor octagonal, but a union of the two. These "were perforated by staircases. Thus far at Salisbury the work belonged to the 13th "Century, and on this substructure our architect of the 14th Century, created, with "singular temerity, but with great artistic skill, the present stupendous tower and "spire.

"Now, if I am right in claiming the Pershore Tower for the same architect, what "do we find was the course he followed? Having no lantern story provided for him "here as at Salisbury, he commenced by translating that which he had there found "ready to his hand into the style of his own period. The words I have made use "of in describing the 13th Century lantern of one church, are precisely applicable "to the 14th Century lantern of the other, though the carrying of them out in detail "is different, each belonging to its individual period. Having erected his lantern "story, he proceeded to cap it externally with a battlemented cornice, which is simply "a reproduction, with trifling alterations, of that with which he had crowned the "older lantern of Salisbury. Upon this he erected a belfry story, which is nothing "more or less than the first stage of his Salisbury Tower, studiously divested of its "richer detail. Every feature is alike, though simplified; and the lower stage is "merely a plainer version of the corresponding stage at Salisbury. The details bear "considerable resemblance. The distribution of windows, blanks, and piers is "absolutely identical, and so even is the peculiar plan of the stair turrets, as also "are the very remarkable bands of quatrefoils, &c., which divide the stages of the "buttresses. While speaking, however, of the details as being simplified from those "of Salisbury, I must except the internal features of the lantern. These, of course, "differ in style as they do in date from the original, but they are far richer and "more beautiful; indeed, I scarcely know of a lantern story so beautiful as that "at Pershore, and it stands, as far as I know, quite alone in its design."

Thus Mr. Scott expresses his view, and except for actual historical evidence it may be practically taken as proved that the work at Salisbury and at Pershore were the outcome of the skill and artistic perception of the same architect, whose name has unfortunately been lost in the obscurity of the ages.

THE CHOIR.—The choir was the work of Abbot Gervasse in the 12th Century, and was consecrated in 1239, A.D.; it is a splendid specimen of Early English architecture, peculiarly beautiful, and very unusual in its design. It consists of four straight bays on either side, and one returning at an angle to the eastern arch (which is wider than the rest) and forms a peculiar apsidal termination almost exactly on the lines of that of Tewkesbury.

The bays of the arcade consist of richly moulded arches, springing from lozenge-shaped piers, having at their angles attached triple shafts, which are repeated in the centre of each face, and occasionally alternate with larger single shafts, rising from richly moulded bases and terminating in beautiful foliated and moulded caps. The piers of the eastern arch are enriched with detached slate and Purbeck marble shafts, four inches in diameter, cramped with peculiar secret iron cramps to the piers, and bear such resemblance to those of Worcester Cathedral that Mr. Mackenzie Walcott supposes them to have been executed by the same school of Masons.

The triforium and clerestory are merged into lofty triplets extending from just above the ground arcade to the vaulting, and externally have single lancets of very simple design.

The richly groined vaulting rises to a height of 60 feet from the floor, it is of about the same period as the Lantern Tower. It springs from triplet vaulting shafts, which are continued down to carved corbels in the spandrils of the arcade below, and has delicately carved bosses and moulded ribs. On the exterior it is buttressed with graceful pinnacled-flying buttresses on each side, and has an embattlemented parapet with crocketted pinnacles of later date, carried on a pointed corbel table.

SOUTH-EAST ARCH-PIER OF CHOIR.

It is probable that the work of the choir of this period was erected on the foundations of that of the former (1) one, for the apsidal ending is not only rare, but is not here correctly set out—(the expedient to cover which inaccuracy

(1) The Norman Choir was destroyed in one of the early fires, probably by the one in 1223.

by a graceful bunch of carved foliage to receive the mouldings, is an interesting point in the south-east arch-pier); at Tewkesbury, where the lines of the plan are the same as here, the Norman piers remain.

The east window of the north aisle is a shafted triplet enclosed under a larger arch externally; the others are lancets, all moulded with carved caps and angle shafts internally. Those in the eastern bays of the south aisle are Perpendicular insertions, giving more light when the Sacristy blocked up the windows of two of its bays.

At the ends of the aisles, and breaking from them north and south (like small transepts and similar to those at Worcester and Rochester), are chapels of about the same period as the rest of the work of the Choir. The Lady Chapel (1) at the east end (long since destroyed) was probably also of a similar style; the erection now occupying part of its site was built (2) in 1846, and is of most inferior design. The south chapel was practically rebuilt in 1862, the fragments that remained being too ruinous for restoration. It contained a piscina, and is said to have had an aumbry. Piscinas are to be found also on the east wall of the opposite chapel on the north, and in that of the north-east on its south wall, and there is another aumbry on the north side of this chapel.

CHAPELS AND CHANTRIES.—There is considerable and almost conclusive evidence that the Transept had, (3) as at Tewkesbury and elsewhere, apsidal eastern chapels of early date, for there exists a wide arch in the south transept which evidently opened originally into such a chapel; this is exactly as at Tewkesbury, even to the high triforium arch over it. Probably the chapel was pulled down and the arch blocked up in the 14th Century to allow for the construction of the larger Sacristy, of which very distinct traces remain. This Sacristy was a vaulted chapel of two bays each way, which must have been supported with a moulded centre pillar. It was entered from the choir by an arch in the western bay of the south aisle; and on the wall of the south transept

(1) Styles, in his History (1838) refers to some remains of such, and as being of little later date than the Choir.

(2) When a partial restoration was carried out, previous to which the richly moulded and shafted eastern arch was blocked up; against it the altar then stood, above which almost filling up the tympanum of the arch, was a huge royal coat of arms. And at this time a cottage which was built against the south-east Chapel was pulled down.

(3) Walcott, Scott.

is a canopied arcading of much beauty, and an ambry. Nash supposed the Sacristy to have been dedicated to St. Edburga.

In 1345 A.D., notice is made of the foundation, with the permission of Bishop Wolstan, of a Chantry to Sir Adam de Hervington, on the south side of the church, probably either the one at the end or the one breaking out of the south choir aisle.

A chapel of St. John the Baptist also existed, and a chapel in the town dedicated to St. Michael is also mentioned. There is an apartment now forming a cellar under some premises in High Street containing a 14th Century piscina, and bearing other evidences of having been used for religious purposes. Its walls are some 6 feet thick, and it has a vaulted ceiling, but if it were a chapel it must have been of very late institution, as fragments of the 13th Century moulded stone work and other of later times, even to the Perpendicular period, were used in its construction, and had evidently been taken from the Abbey. Above it was once a large hall, about 40 feet long, with a circular stair case to approach the chapel below.

THE MONUMENTS.—The most important monument and the oldest is that of a knight templar. The effigy shews a Knight of the 13th Century, now lying on a stone coffin, dressed in complete suit of chain mail. The legs are crossed, but are broken off above the ankle, and the face is much mutilated. The feet are said to have rested on a hare to indicate that his name was Harewell; more

probably they rested on a lion,(1) but certainly in no such way was it purposed to suggest his name, which was however Harley.(2)

Dean Spence says, "it was Sir Wm. de Harley, Lord of Harley in Shropshire,

(1) Dingley shews a lion crouchant.

(2) Habington says the effigy was "in the north side of the quire somewhat raysed from the ground; the legges are crossed and at his feete a hare. 'Tis a received tradition that his name was Harley, sometymes lord of a place in the parish of Hareley."

'who fought in the first Crusade, and was knighted, so tradition says, by Godfrey "de Bouillon at Jerusalem."

There is special interest and rarity in the monument. On the left arm it has the long Norman shield (at the bottom of which is a serpent biting), and the right hand grasps a horn, which is attached by a strap and buckle to the sword belt. This is an exceedingly rare feature in sepulchral effigies (in France is another of 1301 A.D. date). Bloxam, in a special paper to the Archæological Association, expressed his opinion at considerable length on the meaning of this detail, and concluded that it evidenced that the knight was one who held his lands by cornage tenure or "horn-geld." He gives the date of the effigy as 1250 A.D Another special feature is that it shews the method of fastening the mail hood across the neck and chin of the wearer; a portion here is unlaced and thrown back.

The effigy of an Abbot, with the head resting on a mitre, signifying his resignation of office previous to death, which two at least of Pershore's Abbots did, and of whom it is supposed to be of William de Hervington (1304–1340). Dingley refers to it as being in the chapel on the south-east of the Choir; its present position is not the original, indeed nearly all the monuments have been moved from the place in which they were first erected. The taul is enriched with quatrefoil panels, but does not belong to the same period as the effigy and did not originally bear it. The Abbot is vested in the alb and stole and other ecclesiastical garments.

Two monuments of Elizabethan period, are said to belong to the Hazlewood family—on the smaller is the following inscription :—

"FULCO HAZELWOOD, ARMIGER,
WHO VIRTUE LOVING, VICE REFRAINED
DISCORD ABHORING, PEACE MAINTAINED
HIC JACET INVOLUTUS
DOROTHEA, UXOR DICTI FULCONIS.
WHO WIDOWS POOR, AND FATHERLESS
ENTHRAWLED WITH WOES, FREED FROM DISTRESS
HÆC STATUA REPRESENTAT."

On the base of the monument are carved the figures of nine children, one of whom is in a cradle.

Another large tomb of the same style of design, with three life-size figures, also

THE HAZLEWOOD TOMB.

belongs to this family. Its date is about 1540 A.D., on March 20th of which year, Timothy Hazelwood died.

This family lived in the district for some time afterward, and there is a note (1) on the lists of Charles I. that one, "Francys Hazelwood of Wick iuxta Pershore Esq." was fined £12 10s. 0d. for not receiving knighthood.

The matrix of a brass to Sir Adam de Hervington lay (2) in the south aisle, and had this inscription: "Sir Adam de Herwyngtone gyst ici Dev sa alme est mercy"—"*Sir Adam de Hervington lies here, God on his soul have mercy.*" Styles said the lettering was being fast worn away, and now no trace of it can be found.

One or two stone coffins have been discovered, one of which bears on its lid a long cross fleury, and some sepulchral urns have been dug up(3); there are, however, no particularly notable tombs or slabs in the churchyard.

At one time, previous to the last restoration, when entrance was gained to the church by a doorway formed in the north chapel, a part of a tomb belonging to the 15th Century was used to form its arch and jambs. Fragments of these remain, and one bears an escutcheon charged with a hare *tripping* between three chalices or cups and the letters B. S.

Smaller items of interst are—

i. A fine old chest of a 15th or late 14th Century date, with massive panelling and fine tracery on the angle posts.

(1) Noake.
(2) Nash.
(3) Dugdale.

ii. Some 13th Century tiles (1) bearing heraldic and other ornamental devices are preserved in the South Chapel.

iii. A small but elaborate fragment of woodwork probably belonging to some screen. It is of the Perpendicular period, and bears an inscription—"**Anno Willius dni Newnton fect Abbas M.C. bis bino tripley y addere quarto**"—it was therefore connected with some of the work of Abbot Newnton in 1434. It also bears the initials of Newnton and H. VI. (Henry VI.) a° xii., and is carved and traceried. Nash speaks of it as "new painted, gilded, and somewhat disfigured."

EAST ARCH OF SOUTH TRANSEPT SHOWING FRAGMENT OF REREDOS AND THE OLD CHEST.

iv. The font, which Styles claims to be the original one belonging to the Abbey, has undergone many vicissitudes—once a drinking trough for cattle—was bought and preserved by a gentleman at Kempsey, where it now ornaments the lawn of "The Nash."

v. On the east arch of the south transept are the remains of a 15th Century stone reredos, probably beneath it stood the altar of the chapel which was pulled down to allow the building of the Sacristy

(1) Dug up during the 1862 restoration, and also some melted fragments of bell metal.

vi. The *Gentleman's Magazine*,(1) shows a sketch of an interesting piece of Saxon brasswork, a shrine or reliquary, which was found when digging(2) a cellar in the town. Dr. King describes it thus: "a small ornament "of brass, with a sort of fillagree work, a little less than two inches "square and four inches high, resembling a sort of rude dome, with odd "rude heads of serpents and other kinds of animals, intermixed with "the interlacing of the fillagree, with some round Saxon arches also as "a lower border, and with a rude Saxon inscription, 'Godric me woth' "*(Godric me wrought)*, just over them. It is hollow, and has at the "four corners beneath, four little pendant flaps (these are fixed) with "holes, as if to nail it on some staff. And it seems, therefore, either to "have been the head of a thick pastoral staff, or else of the top corner "of a chair." What this really was is unknown, and I am unable to find any more information about it.

THE RESTORATION.—At the time of the restoration(3) in 1862 the walls inside were thickly daubed with whitewash, high old-fashioned "box" pews occupied the floor, a gallery existed under the tower, and the lantern story was entirely blocked out by a floor from which the bells were rung. In the transept north and south, partitions of lath and plaster showed themselves, with monstrous quatrefoils and an embattlemented cornice of abominable design. As regards the structure generally it was high time for a speedy and well-judged treatment, as in many places its ruinous condition was a source of imminent danger. The Restoration Committee retained the services of Sir Gilbert Scott, and on 10th of November, 1862, the work was begun by Messrs. Collins & Co., of Tewkesbury, and completed in 1865, after the expenditure of some £6,000.

ST. ANDREW'S.—The church situated just outside the eastern wall of the present churchyard is dedicated to St. Andrew. The date of the founding being in the time of Edward the Confessor (Nash says much later—1147), to accommodate the tenants of Westminster, on account of bitterness of feeling between the Monks of Pershore and those of Westminster, who—as already mentioned—were given or had appropriated part of Pershore's property at various times. The church was attached to the monastery in 1337, and since has been subordinate to it, but was originally in the gift of the Prior and Monks of Malvern. It has been restored and re-built at various times, and latterly under the guidance of Mr. Aston Webb, F.R.I.B.A.

THE BROADWAY GRANGE.—The Abbots of Pershore had at Broadway, in Worcestershire, a Grange,(4) of which a considerable portion still exists; it is situated near the Green. The work is of the 14th Century, or Decorated Period, and consists

(1) Vol. 49.

(2) King, in 1785, says "dug up a few years ago."

(3) *The Builder*, July 19, 1862, says: "The Midland Counties Archæological Association visited Pershore at this time, and approved the suggested restorations which were pointed out in detail."

(4) Besides the Manor, which the Harleain MSS. says was sold in 1558.

of three small stone-built buildings adjoining, but originally it must have been of much greater extent. On the ground floor is an outer entrance hall, a hall proper, and a cellar, and on the upper floor the Abbot's room and a small oratory, to which has been added (about the middle of the 15th Century) four other rooms. The present entrance is probably the original one, and was protected by a wooden porch; it leads into the somewhat low outer hall, having a window on the opposite side, and on the other (next the hall) a door, with another door, a fireplace (the only one in the building), and a small single-light window on the remaining side. The chimney is carried up on the exterior on plain stone corbels, and the doorway by it has plain splayed jambs; to the right of the entrance is the staircase. The hall occupies the whole height of the building, and is covered in by a good open timber roof of the period; at the far end is the block containing a cellar, with the oratory over; two windows of two lights each, are on one side of this apartment, and another having a transom and a cusped head, and is set angle-wise in the corner nearest the cellar; the end has two doorways (now built up), which probably led to the kitchen buttery, &c. On the upper floor, over the entrance hall, is the Abbot's room extending over the whole width, and covered with a good open timber roof; in the wall next the hall is a small window, or squint, down into the hall below; opposite is a doorway, now closed up, which probably gave access, by an external wooden stair to the ground; there are traceried windows of two lights in each end wall. The oratory—which is very small—is at the other end of the hall, and it also has a little trefoil headed window, or squint, into the hall, and a traceried two-light window at one end.

The only private apartment is the Abbot's room; there can be no doubt that various domestic offices existed at one time, although there is now no trace of them. The moat that surrounded the buildings is the only arrangement made for defence.

The Abbots of Pershore had also a Manor at Cowley, in Gloucestershire.

EXTRACTS FROM THE VALOR ECCLESIASTICUS* OF HENRY VIII., CONCERNING PERSHORE MONASTERY.

The Temporalities of the Monastery of Pershore were derived from the:—

Manor of Pershore.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Rents of Assize	2	12	10						
In farm, one Close called the Orchard ...		6	8						
Rents of tenures at the will of the Superior	25	19	0						
Other sources	1	0	0						
Dues of the Fair		10	0						
				30	8	6			

* In order that tranferance might be made by Act of Parliament from the Pope to Henry (Act 1534), this document was prepared, but the values were seldom fairly or fully given, and frequent inaccuracies are to be found.

After deducting the salaries of John Sheldon, John Knollys, and Christopher Wadde, bailiffs and collectors, to the amount of £2 3s. 4d., and an annuity of £2 18s. 2d. to the Abbot of Westminster	25	7	0
Manor of Mathon. W. Horton, bailiff and collector (Richard Nashe here paid £1 6s. 8d. for a tenement called the "Shepynground")	26	13	4½
„ of Bradway *(Broadway)* J. Crasewell and Wm. Hoggys, b. & c. ...	135	6	9½
„ of Allesborrowe *(Allesborough)* W. Reve, b. & c.	90	4	11
„ of Abburton *(Abberton)*	18	10	2
„ of Lye. W. Collys, b. & c.	64	17	4½
„ of Alderm'ston *(Aldermaston)*	33	18	3½
Tenements in the City of Worcester. Davythe Serche, b. & c. ...	3	6	0

County of Gloucester—

Manor of Cowley. J. Bruggys, senschall, and W. Blowmere, b. & c., receiving salaries of £1 6s. 8d. and 13s. 4d.	16	19	8
„ of Langney *(Longley)*	2	0	0
„ of Hawkysbury, glebe, &c., after paying £2 13s. 4d. to J. Bruggis, head senschall, 13s. 4d. to Danyelis Courtt, sub-senschall and £3 13s. 4d. to J. Carne and Artuary Lupyat, b. & c.	110	10	10
Total temporalities of Pershore Monastery	*£527	14	5

The Spiritualities of Pershore Monastery—

Chokenhyll...				14	14	4
Church of St. Peter at Worcester				5	4	8
„ Abburton *(Abberton)*				2	13	4
„ Aldermaston				10	0	0
„ Flyford				2	6	8
„ Wadbarowe *(Wadborough)*					10	0
„ Broadway				21	16	8
„ St. Andrew, Pershore—						
Tithes of grain and hay in Wick	4	2	0			
„ „ Bricklehampton ...	8	0	0			
„ „ Pensham ...		16	8			
„ „ Pinvin ..	4	0	0			
„ „ Besford ...	2	0	0			
„ „ Defford ...	4	0	0			
	24	8	8*			
Deduct payment to the prior of Worcester per annum		13	4			
				23	15	4
„ Mathon				4	1	6½

* Here is a mistake of £30, and yet the accounts were audited and examined.

Church of Holy Cross, Pershore—

Tithes of grain and hay in Naunton ...				1	0	0	
,, ,, Broughton and Walcut				2	0	0	
,, ,, Peopleton ...				1	0	0	
,, ,, Byrlingham ...				2	0	0	
,, ,, Great Comberton				3	13	4	
,, ,, Ekyngton ...				12	13	4	
,, ,, Chevyngton ...				1	0	0	
,, ,, Pershore ...				4	0	0	
Other tithes					6	7	
Oblations					16	8	
,, to St. Edburg						7	
Divers payments					6	8	
Marriages					3	4	
Churchings					1	8	
Funerals					3	4	
Dominical days...					6	3	
Other Sources				6	6	8	
Tithes of lambs, calves, pigs, geese, wool, hemp, linseed, etc.				2	9	6	
Deaths					4	0	
Christenings					2	0	
Tithes of hay in Pensham					18	0	
Oblations to the Holy Cross					2	0	
Fourth part of tithes of corn in Strensham ...				2	6	8	
				43	8	1*	
From which deduct:							
Annual payment to the archdeacon of Worcester ...	7	5½					
To Edward Greyston, rector of Fladbury, for tithes at "Pydyllmyls"	1 10	0					
To the Abbot of Tewkesbury	1	8					
,, Bishop of Worcester ...	3	4					
,, Prior of Worcester ...	3	4					
To Henry Smith, for daily celebrations of divine service for the soul of Adam de Hervington, in a certain chapel in the Church of St. Edburg, in Pershore ...	6	0	0				
				8	6	1*	
							35 2 3½
Church of Hawkesbury							28 4 3
Total of Spiritualities							£143 9 1
Total of Temporalities							527 14 5
							£676 3 6

* Other errors.

From the total of receipts deduct payments as follows :—

Salary to Gilbert Talbot, Knight, head senschall...	4	0	0			
„ Daniel Courtt, sub-senschall		13	4			
„ W. Horton, general receiver of the Monastery	6	13	4			
„ Thomas Pynfold auditor to the Monastery	6	13	4			
Corrody to William Ruggeley by order of the King	3	0	0			
for a gown annually		16	0			
for two loads of hay annually		8	0			
for the use of the poor annually	10	15	1			
				32	19	1
Net Annual Income of the Monastery			*	£643	4	5

* Disregarding the various errors.

Some Old Birmingham Books.

By HOWARD S. PEARSON.

December 15th, 1897.

THIS paper traversed, to a certain extent, the same ground as one under a similar title read by Mr. Sam. Timmins, F.S.A., in 1883. As it was merely a contribution to an object which has not yet been attained, or even seriously attempted, namely, a Bibliography of Birmingham Books, only such notes are here produced as may possibly be of service to enquirers.

The attack on Birmingham by Prince Rupert on Easter Monday, April 3rd, 1643, gave rise to three rare pamphlets of which the titles follow:—

> "A True Relation of Prince Rupert's Barbarous Cruelty against the town of Birmingham.
> London: Printed for John Wright in the Old Bailey. April 12, 1643."
> "A Letter written from Walshall, by a worthy Gentleman to his friend in Oxford concerning Birmingham.
> Printed in the year M. DC. XLIII."
> "Prince Rupert's Burning Love to England, discovered in Birmingham's Flames.
> London: Printed for Thomas Underhill, 1643."

In connection with the Civil Wars we have also:—

> "A True Relation of a Great and Cruell Battell fought by the Lord Willoughby of Parham near Brumegum in Warwickshire, October the 17th.
> Printed for Richard West, October 20th."

This was a pamphlet of 8 p.p. in the Staunton Library, and was supposed to be unique. It was burned in the fire which consumed the Birmingham Central Library, 1878.

The religious controversies of the time are marked by a work by the Rev. Thos.

Hall, B.D., Curate of King's Norton, founder of the curious library which is now deposited at the Birmingham Reference Library.

> "The Font Guarded with * * Arguments containing a Compendium of that great Controversie of Infant-Baptism, Proving the Lawfulness thereof; as being grounded on the Word of GOD, agreeable to the Practice of all Reformed Churches; together with the concurrent consent of a whole Jury of Judicious and Pious Divines.
>
> Occasioned partly by a Dispute at *Bely* in *Worcestershire*, Aug. 13, 1651,
>
> Against { *Joseph Paget*, Dyer, *Walter Rose*, and *John Rose*, } Butchers of Bromsgrove; *John Evans*, a Scribe, yet Antiscripturist, *Francis Loxley*, Sho-Maker.
>
> "Here you have the questions fully stated, with an answer to all the Scriptures, Scruples, Arguments, and objections (of any weight) which are brought against Infant Baptism, the quintessence and marrow of most of our modern Divines (in reference to this controversy) collected, with references to such Authors as clear any doubt more fully, and many incident cases resolved.
>
> "With a word to one *Collier*, and another to Mr. *Tombs* in the end of the Book.
>
> *London:* Printed by *R. W.*, for *Thomas Simmons*, Book Seller at the sign of the Bible in *Birmingham* in *Warwickshire*, and are to be sold in *London* by *George Calvert* at the sign of the Half Moon in *Paul's* Churchyard, 1652.

There is a copy of this work in the Birmingham Old Library, and it is certainly a most characteristic production. The Latin Preface is dated "E. Museo meo "*Norton Regis* in agro Vigorum, 1 Martii 1651, Servorum Dei minimorum minimus, "Tho. Hall," and is followed by an address, "to my beloved and approved friends In the Town of Birmingham."

At the end, with separate title, is:

> "The Collier in his Colours, * * * where you have the filthy, false, Heretical, Blasphemous Tenets of one COLLIER, an Arrian, Arminian, Socinian, Samosatenian, Antinomian, Anabaptist, Familist, Donatist, Separatist, Anti-Scripturist, &c. An open enemy to God, to Christ, to the Holy Ghost, to Scripture, Law, Gospel, Church, Commonwealth, Magistracy, Ministry, Army, &c
>
> London: Printed 1652."

The epithets applied by Mr. Hall to his opponent are throughout of the most scurrilous kind, and the whole pamphlet is a painfully significant proof of the ease with which the controversial spirit can dispense, even in a religious discussion, with every trace either of Christian charity or common courtesy.

The closing years of the 17th Century bring us

> 'A True Relation of the Terrible Earthquake at West Brummidge in Staffordshire and the places adjacent, on Tuesday the 4th of this instant January 1675—6."

This is a poor catchpenny affair, though the earthquake was a fact. It has been privately reprinted by the late Charles H. Bailey, from the tattered and probably unique copy in the British Museum.

None of the books above mentioned claim to have been *printed* in Birmingham. Who was the first Birmingham printer is a question not yet definitely settled. The title of the first book so far discovered with a Birmingham imprint, is as follows:—

> "A Loyal Oration, giving a short account of several plots, some purely Popish others mixt. * * * Composed by James Parkinson, formerly fellow of Lincoln College, in Oxford, now Chief Master of the Free School of Birmingham, in Warwickshire, and spoke by his Son, on the 10th day of December 1716. * * *
>
> Birmingham: Printed and sold by Matthew Unwins, near St. Martin's Church, 1717."

Two years later we have another book:—

> "A Help against Sin in our Ordinary Discourse. * * * Published by the Author R. H. Chyrurgeon in Walsall, Staffordshire, 1719.
> Birmingham: Printed by H. B., in New Street."

In this the author says that he had "put out some years past a little book "called 'Advice to Sunday Barbers.'" No copy of this has ever been discovered, but supposing it to have been produced by the same printer, then "H. B." would probably have been the first of his craft in the town.

From this time Birmingham books became less rare, and—from a bibliographical point of view—less interesting. The titles only of the books described in the paper are therefore now given, with the briefest possible notes, to facilitate further investigation.

> "The doctrine of the Church of England defended, in a brief exposition of its Catechism, by Pynson Wilmot, A.B., Vicar of Halesowen, in the County of Salop.
>
> "For not he that commendeth himself is approved, but whom the Lord commendeth."—2 *Cor.* x. 18.
>
> Birmingham, Printed for the author, by J. Warren, Jun., next to the New Chapell, MDCCLIII."

A copy of this is in the Birmingham Old Library. It contains a second part, consisting mainly of ten sermons, with same imprint. The work is exceedingly well printed.

> "A Collection of Twenty-eight Psalm Tunes in four parts by several Authors. Printed to the new version of Psalms for the use of the Churches and Chapels in and near Birmingham. Collected, Printed, and Sold by Michael Broome, and may be had of Thos. Aris, Printer in Birmingham. Price stitched 1s.9d. 1753."

Almost the whole of this singular book is printed from engraved plates of a

quaint and primitive kind. The tomb of Richard Broome in St. Philip's Churchyard has been lately restored by the care of Mr. Joseph Hill.

> "The Political History of the Devil. * * * The Sixth Edition. To this Edition is prefixed (sic), by way of Apendix, Anecdotes of a Scoundrel, or Memoirs of Devil Dick, a well-known character. By an Invisible Spy. Illustrated with copper plates.
> Birmingham: Printed by C. Earl, at No. 50, in Dale End. 1772."

This work raises an interesting question as to early Birmingham engravers. It contains four copper plates, one of which is inscribed "W. Smith, Sculp," and another "Eng^d. for Earl's Hist^y. of ye Divil." These are poor things, but the folding frontispiece to the "Anecdotes of a Scoundrel" is of far higher pretensions. It would be interesting to know whether there was really anything local in the latter work, and who the "Scoundrel" who is alluded to as well known at the time, may have been.

> "Laws, Catalogue, and List of Subscribers to the Birmingham Library, 1781."

The catalogue contains 180 books and 10 pamphlets. There are 74 subscribers, one only of whom is a lady. According to the laws the President is to forfeit 1s. for each case of absence from a meeting, and the Committee-men 6d. each, "notwith-"standing any apology whatever." Whatever expense the committee "shall chuse "to be at," at their meetings, shall be defrayed by themselves. "The books are "to be had of Mr. John Lee, Jun., Snow Hill, * * * every Monday, Wednesday, "and Friday mornings in each week, from nine till 10 o'clock, until the room which is "engaged shall be ready for them, of which notice will be given in the newspapers."

> "Philotoxi Ardeni. The Woodmen of Arden; a Latin Poem, by John Morfitt, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, with a Translation in Blank Verse; another in Rhyme; attempted in the manner of Dryden, and dedicated (by permission) to the Right Honourable the Countess of Aylesford: in an Essay on the Superiority of Dryden's Versification over that of Pope in the Moderns; by Joseph Weston.
> "Waller was smooth, but Dryden taught to join the varying Verse—the full resounding Line—the long majestic March—and Energy Divine."—*Pope*.
> Birmingham: Printed by M. Swinney, for the Authors; and sold by G. G. J. and J. Robinson, London; Fletcher, Oxford; and Merril, Cambridge.
> Entered at Stationer's Hall."
> (Advertisement dated Dec. 15, 1788.)

A very well printed and even sumptuous 4to., the care in production being somewhat singularly out of proportion to the work produced.

> "The Political Songster, or a Touch on the Times, on various subjects, adapted to Common Tunes. The Sixth Edition, with additions. By John Freeth.
> Birmingham: Printed by Thomas Pearson, for the Author, and Sold by all the Booksellers. MDCCXC."

The claim of this issue to be the sixth edition has by no means been universally

accepted by those learned in Birmingham bibliography. The Old Library possesses a MS. copy of Freeth's Poems, but most—if not all of them—appear to have been printed.

> "A Selection of Psalms and Hymns used in their Public Worship by the Society of Christians formerly assembling in the New Meeting, but now in the Union Chapel, Livery Street.
>
> Birmingham: Printed by J. Belcher, 1798."

This collection is abridged from that made by the Rev. Wm. Hawkes, and Dr. Priestley, in 1790, "and almost entirely consumed in the burning of the New Meeting."

> "Book-keeping Familiarised: or the Young Clerks', Manufacturers', and Shopkeepers' Directory. By William Wood, Clerk in a Merchant's House, in Birmingham.
>
> Birmingham: Printed and Sold by Pearson and Rollason; Sold also by the Author at No. 24, Temple Street; R. Baldwin, No. 47, Pater-Noster Row, London; and by the Booksellers in Town and Country."

Presumably by William Wood, founder of the firm of Wm. Wood & Sons, Merchants, in Bath Street. There is no date, but it is about 1800. The book is well and carefully printed, and there are only two errata, though the mass of complicated figures must have made it a trying job to a local printer.

Excursions.

TO "THE NASH," NEAR WORCESTER.

June 12, 1[illegible]

THE first and most largely attended Excursion of the year was to "The Nash," the seat of Sir Richard Temple, Bart. Forty-seven members and friends were present, and a pleasant drive of six miles from Worcester brought them to their destination, where they were cordially received by their host.

The Nash, being a private residence in a somewhat secluded neighbourhood, is little known, but the house is as full as ever is its surroundings are of natural beauty. Externally it is a neighbourly [illegible] half timber house, but the enormous thickness of some of the walls, which [illegible] spacious [illegible] testifies to a much earlier original date. [illegible] walls are of great thickness, and the [illegible] room, the panelling of which has [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] of paint, and restored to its original [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] The [illegible] plaster ceiling [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] were found in the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

TO FENNY COMPTON, EDGE HILL, BURTON DASSETT, HORNTON, HORLEY, AND HANWELL.

30th June, 1897.

This whole-day excursion was attended by ten members only, but proved very attractive. Arriving at Fenny Compton by train the visitors drove first to the village and inspected the church, with pyramidal spire of curiously curved outline Thence to Burton Dassett, where the careful restoration of the church by Mr. J. A. Cossins was noted as a singularly striking example of the manner in which such work should be carried out. The early English capitals with heads and animals are remarkable. The next halt was at the very picturesquely situated church of Warmington, near the old British Camp of Nadbury. At the Tower at Edge Hill dinner was served on the bowling-green, and the fine view over the plain, including the famous battlefield, was greatly enjoyed. The next church visited was that of Hornton; which is large, unrestored, and possesses Norman features. At Horley, Mr. Godson, one of the churchwardens, exhibited relics of the battle of Edge Hill, including the sword of Lord Lindsay, who was mortally wounded in the encounter. Here also Mrs. Heaven, wife of the rector, kindly entertained the company to tea. The church is large and interesting, remarkable for its lofty arcades, for a wall-painting of St. Christopher, and for a small organ which formerly belonged to George III. Hanwell Church was then reached, and its architecture of the early 14th century, was carefully explained by the rector, the Rev. V. Pearce. As at Burton Dassett, the capitals of the columns are formed mainly of sculptured human heads. Hanwell Castle is now a farm-house, and is but a portion of a fine and characteristic brick mansion of Tudor date.

Tea was taken in the famous Globe Room in the Reindeer, at Banbury, from which station the return journey was made by train.

TO WILMCOTE, ASTON CANTLOW, AND WOOTTON WAWEN.

July 10th, 1897.

The attendance at this half-day excursion was 14.

In Wilmcote is a stone and timber farm-house said to have been the home of Mary Arden the mother of Shakespeare. After inspecting this, a beautiful walk of some two miles brought the company to Aston Cantlow, a most picturesque village, and historically interesting, as having been the retreat of Pusey and Newman during

their Oxford days. Here tea was served, and a further walk of three miles led to Wootton-Wawen, where the very fine church, retaining some relics of apparently Saxon character, was carefully visited. The return journey was by rail from Bearley Station, and the very charming country traversed on foot made this an unusually agreeable excursion.

TO CRICK, ASHBY ST. LEGERS, EVERDON AND STOWE.

July 21st, 1897.

A whole-day excursion, with an attendance of 14.

From Wilford Station, the party drove to the pretty stone-built village of Crick. The fine church has a tall tower and an elegant broach spire. Part of the nave shows evidence of the 13th century work, but the windows of the nave and the whole of the chancel are 14th century curvilinear work of very fine character, and much resembling that in the old chancel of Astley Church, Sir Thomas Astley being lord of both manors in the 14th century.

At Ashley St. Leger there is a large manor house which was the residence of Catesby, and hither he rode after the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot. The house, unfortunately, could not be seen, but the room in the half-timbered gate-house was visited.

The church is a fine specimen of tall and well-proportioned early 15th century work. There are two fine brasses within the chancel rails, of the Catesby who fought at Bosworth Field and his wife. The rood-screen with carved front is also remarkable; and the staircase in the south pier of the chancel arch remains perfect. The nave is filled with a set of good oak seats, with bench-ends, and in the north Chantry Chapel are remains of stained glass bearing the Catesby Arms.

Luncheon was taken at the Peacock Hotel, Daventry, and a very pretty drive brought the party to Everdon. Here is a large and handsomely proportioned church of 14th Century work, with a remarkably fine south doorway and porch. The church was built by the monks of Bernay, of which this was an alien Priory.

After another drive through a beautiful wood, Stoke IX. Churches was reached. Here is a Church with a Saxon tower at the west end. It has been much restored, but still retains three fine monuments. The manor house was also visited. It is Elizabethan, but was greatly altered and modernized nearly 50 years ago.

By the kind invitation of the Rector, the Rev. H. H. Crawley, the company was entertained to tea in the Rectory Barn, now fitted up as a village Meeting Room.

The return journey was made from Weedon.

Officers and Committee, 1897.

ELECTIVE.

SAM: TIMMINS, J.P., F.S.A., *President.*
JETHRO A. COSSINS, *Honorary Secretary.*
WRIGHT WILSON, F.R.C.S., Edin., *Honorary Librarian.*
THE REV. FATHER ARTHUR L. CHATTAWAY.
WALTER J. CHURCHILL.
HOWARD S. PEARSON.
THE REV. H. T. TILLEY, M.A.

EX-OFFICIO (Officers of the Institute.)

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE G. J. GOSCHEN, M.P., P.C., F.S.S. *President.*
COUNCILLOR CHARLES GREEN, J.P., } *Vice-Presidents.*
C. B. BRAGG, }
G. S. MATHEWS, M.A., *Treasurer.*
COUNCILLOR R. F. MARTINEAU, *Honorary Secretary.*

Report of the Committee for the Year 1897.

PRESENTED AT THE ANNUAL MEETING, 26TH JANUARY, 1898.

The Committee are glad to be able to report a slight increase in the Membership, which is now 203, as compared with 200 at the date of the last Annual Meeting. Although the increase is small, it is yet most satisfactory as a movement in the right direction, the numbers having for several years undergone a systematic diminution. The Committee still, however, strongly feel that the membership should be largely augmented. The Section is the only Society in Birmingham devoted to preservation of the remains of the Past, where that is possible, and of permanent record where the memory would otherwise be lost. Its usefulness in this direction is hampered by lack of funds, and the Committee appeal to Members of the Section to do all in their power to aid in its enlargement.

The Section already possesses a most valuable and, indeed, unequalled collection of local photographs and sketches, of rubbings from local brasses, and of books referring to Archæological Subjects.

The Honorary Librarian has kindly attended every meeting of the Section held during the Session, and has shown each evening a few of the many treasures in his care. A selection of views of Old Birmingham has also been shown at each of the last Conversaziones, and has excited much interest.

The ordinary work of the Section has been in every respect successful, and consequently calls for little comment.

The following papers have been read to audiences always interested, and the attendances have been in all cases most satisfactory :—

Jan. 27—(Annual Meeting) "William Hamper, F.S.A.," kindly read in the absence of the writer, Mr. SAM: TIMMINS, J.P., by Mr. WALTER J. CHURCHILL.

Feb. 24th—"Prehistoric Remains in Warwickshire and Worcestershire," by Professor BERTRAM C. A. WINDLE, M.A., M.D., D.Sc.

March 24th—"Maxstoke," by Mr. WRIGHT WILSON, F.R.C.S., Edin.

Nov. 17th—"Pershore Abbey," by Mr. FRANCIS B. ANDREWS, A.R.I.B.A.

Dec. 15th—"Some Old Birmingham Books," by Mr. HOWARD S. PEARSON.

During the Summer the following Excursions were held, and all were of a most enjoyable and interesting character :—

June 12th (Half-day)—"The Nash," Worcestershire, the seat of Sir Richard Temple, Bart. Attendance 47.

June 30th (Whole-day)—Fenny Compton, Edge Hill, Burton Dassett, Hornton, Horley, and Hanwell. Attendance 10.

July 10th (Half-day)—Wilmcote, Aston Cantlow, and Wootten Wawen. Attendance 14.

July 21st (Whole-day)—Crick, Ashby St. Legers, Everdon, and Stowe. Attendance 14.

The visitors were on several occasions indebted to their hosts for a kindly hospitality, which has been duly acknowledged.

The Excursions resulted in a profit to the funds of the Section of £2 18s. 3d.

The Annual Congress of Archæological Societies was held in the rooms of the Society of Antiquaries, in London, in December. The Committee were not able to appoint a representative upon this occasion.

During the year the Section has had deeply to regret the resignation of Mr. J. A. Cossins, whose services as Honorary Secretary for many years have been of the utmost value. Mr. Howard S. Pearson was appointed Honorary Secretary in his place.

As to finances, the balance on the combined Accounts is £70 17s. 10d., as compared with £88 19s. 1d. last year. From this balance a deduction of £50 or £60 must be made to cover printing of the 1897 Transactions.

Income and Expenditure Accounts and Balance Sheet

FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31ST DECEMBER, 1897.

General Account.

Dr.

1897	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Dec. 31.—To Audit Expenses	2	2	0			
„ Bookbinding	2	2	9			
„ Furniture	15	10	0			
„ Postage, Carriage, and Incidentals	8	3	6			
„ Printing and Stationery ...	9	4	10			
„ Society of Antiquaries Subscription	1	0	0			
„ Transactions	33	13	0			
				71	16	1
„ Balance carried forward, being surplus				36	0	10
				£107	16	11

Cr.

1897	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Jan 1.—By Balance brought forward ...				51	9	8
Dec. 31.— „ Excursions, Surplus on ...	2	18	3			
„ Subscriptions ... 55 15 0						
„ Less amount received for 1898 5 16 0						
	49	19	0			
„ Transactions, Sale of ...	3	10	0			
				56	7	3
				£107	16	11

Copying Fund.

1897	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Dec. 31.—To Illustrations to Transactions	25	11	6			
„ Reprints, Photographs, &c	5	2	11			
				30	14	5
„ Balance carried forward, being surplus				34	17	0
				£65	11	5

1897	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Jan. 1.—By Balance brought forward ...				37	9	5
Dec. 31. – „ Interest on Deposit Account		13	0			
„ Subscriptions	27	9	0			
				28	2	0
				£65	11	5

Balance Sheet.

1897	£	s.	d.
Dec. 31.—To Balance on General Account	36	0	10
„ Subscriptions received for 1898 ..	5	16	0
„ Balance on Copying Fund	34	17	0
	£76	13	10

1897	£	s.	d.
Dec. 31.—By amount in hands of Lloyds Bank, Limited, viz.:			
General Account	41	16	10
Deposit Account	34	17	0
	£76	13	10

Examined and found correct,

(Signed) C. A. HARRISON, BARRATT, WEST, AND THORLEY,

17th January, 1898. *Chartered Accountants.*

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BIRMINGHAM ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

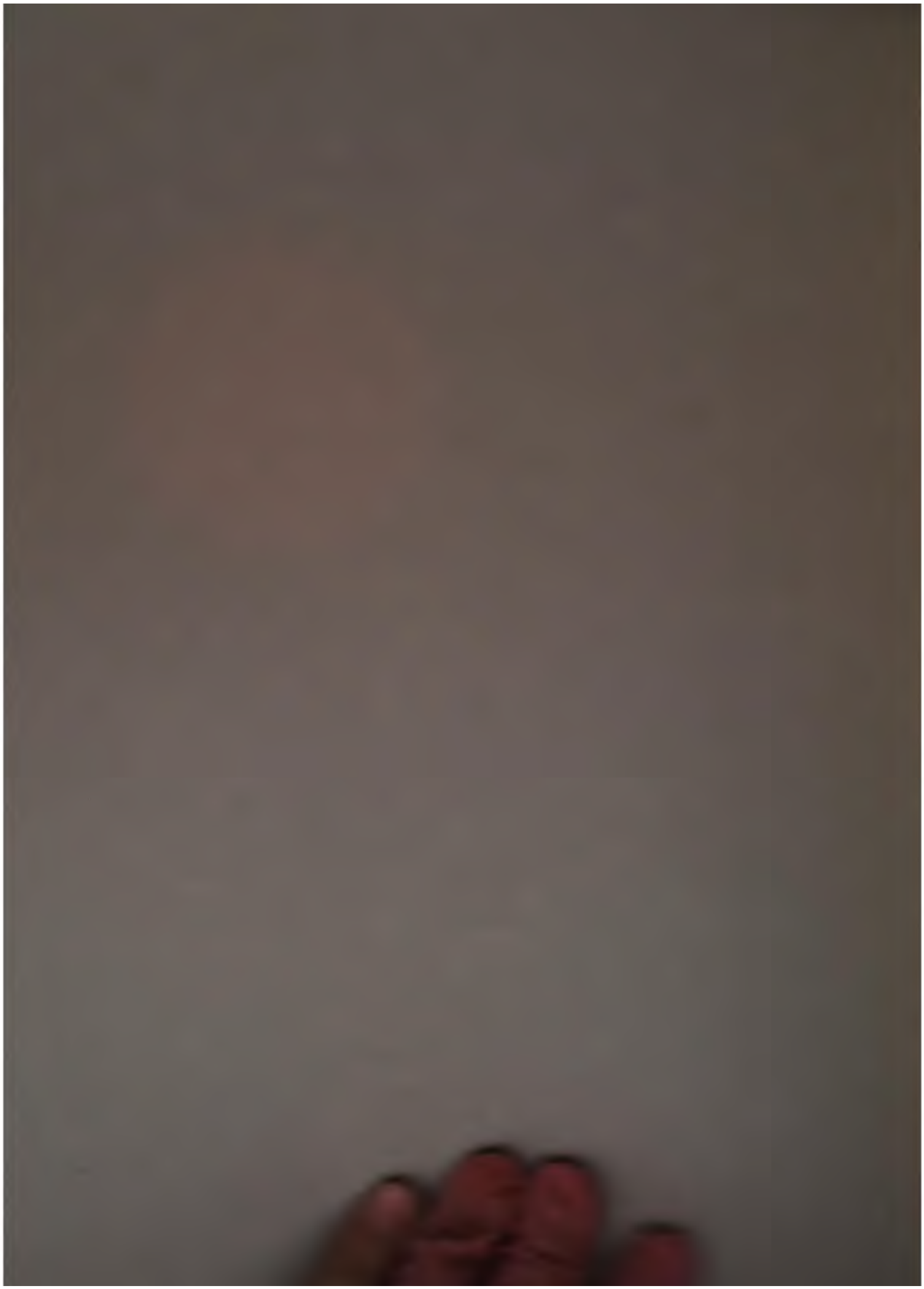
TRANSACTIONS,

EXCURSIONS, AND REPORT,

For the Year 1898.

VOL. XXIV.

WALSALL:
PRINTED FOR SUBSCRIBERS ONLY,
BY W. HENRY ROBINSON, STEAM PRINTING WORKS.
1899.



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BIRMINGHAM ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

TRANSACTIONS, EXCURSIONS, AND REPORT.

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James Keir, F.R.S., 1735-1820.

By SAM: TIMMINS, F.S.A., President.

January 20th, 1898.

"SOHO" has long been famous, for many years in the last century; and records of the Lives and Works of Boulton, Watt, and Murdock, have been preserved in our Archæological Section, and yet another name has been almost forgotten. James Keir, F.R.S. (1735—1820), well deserves a record among his old friends, which shall become a memory for those who care to secure some relics of a famous worker in the old days of Soho. His father, John Keir (1686), who died in 1743, was esteemed as a man of uncommon abilities, and great integrity in the Town Council of Edinburgh, and possessed two estates, Muiston and Queen's-haugh. He had eighteen children, of whom James was the youngest.

James Keir was born 29th September, 1735. As his father died when he was very young, his mother, and her two brothers, Alexander Lind, of Georgie, Sheriff of the County, and George Lind, Lord Provost of Edinburgh and Member of Parliament for that City, who were men of great abilities, assisted in his education at home, and, in due time, he attended the High School in Edinburgh, was intended for the Medical Profession, and studied from the Professors of the University.

"Having an ample patrimony, and several relations in the learned professions, he received every advantage that Edinburgh could afford; and he was early distinguished for a singular love of probity and truth, love of learning, and constant application to study. Having completed his medical studies, he went into the Army. During the French War he was in active service in the West Indies, where his medical skill in times of sickness and difficulty was of service to the troops." Whilst studying medicine at the Edinburgh University, he became acquainted with Mr. Darwin—afterwards the celebrated Doctor of Lichfield. The friendship was

mutual, and remained unbroken from boyhood to the close of life. James Keir left the Medical Profession for the sake of satisfying an early and strong desire to see foreign countries; and in his nineteenth year he wrote to his friend Darwin (three long Latin pages), who was at that time a Bachelor of Medicine. The result of the change in his profession, was a voyage to the West Indies, where he was smitten with yellow fever, and he escaped death by a medicine of his own prescribing. On his return home, he was stationed with his regiment, 61st, at Bandon, Ireland, whence he wrote very humorous letters to Mrs. Darwin, and the Doctor (20 August, 1766), with very interesting records of Ireland.

The frequent and even life-long correspondences and discussions between Keir and Darwin had been carefully kept for many years, but unfortunately, nearly all the papers which Keir had kept, had been preserved at Abberley Hall, Worcestershire, "where the largest and most valuable portion of them were consumed at the "destructive fire."

Keir was a prolific letter-writer; he left the Army probably about 1766. He married Miss Harvey in 1770, and subsequently lived at Birmingham.

An amusing letter to Mrs. Darwin was followed by a more serious letter to the Doctor on his ten books, with notes (chiefly French, of considerable interest), for future discussions.

In 1775, Keir appears to have commenced business as a glass manufacturer at Stourbridge, near Birmingham, and a paper of his "On the Crystallizations observed in Glass," was communicated to the Royal Society by his friend, G. Fordyce, M.D., F.R.S., which was published on the 23rd May, 1776, with an important letter by Keir, to Mr. Charles Darwin. Early in 1776, he completed his translation of M. Macquer's "Dictionnaire de Chimie," with Additions, Notes, etc. A copy was forwarded to the author, and was followed by a letter in French (28th March, 1876), which was delayed, and M. Macquer had considerable trouble, as he did not understand the English words and phrases.

Keir was on terms of great intimacy with Matthew Boulton of Soho, who made Mrs. Keir a very handsome wedding present, when he and his wife finally settled in Birmingham; and Mr. Boulton sent it to Mr. Keir with an old-world courtesy, worth a memorial, in these degenerate days.

> Dear Sir,
>
> I sent you about a fortnight ago some gilt scraps, and some plated scraps, which are so regular in their goodness as to afford the means of making accurate comparisons of different modes of refining. We have now a large quantity on hand of both gilt and plated scraps, and therefore I should be glad (if our method answers to your satisfaction) to send them to you. Mr. Jackson's report of the plate is, if I remember right, 8½ of silver in the pound.
>
> About a week ago I sent in a box directed for you, a silver coffee-pot and lamp, which I beg you'll do me the favour to permit Mrs. Keir to so far indulge me, to accept as a token of my love—I believe I had better say—for her husband; and

yet, in spite of the *mischievous* graces, Mrs. Keir is so good a woman that I cannot see any impropriety in her receiving it, as an offering made by me to *all the female virtues*.

Pray, where were you the last full moon? I hope you were not influenced by any influenza to stay at home. I saw *Darwin* yesterday at Lichfield. He desires to know if you will come to Soho on Sunday, the 3rd of March, in which case he will not fail to meet you, although he says he has inoculated some children, which will probably be ill at that time Yet if you will come, he will be at Soho by eleven o'clock, when I propose to make several motions to the members. Pray God bless your fire-side, and preserve it, from smoking and falling chimneys, and every other terrestrial evil.

I am, Dear Sir,
Yours sincerely and affectionately,
MATTHEW BOULTON.

James Keir, Esq.

Mr. Keir first became acquainted with Mr. Watt in the autumn of 1768. In Muirhead's "Life of Watt," it is said that when Mr Watt came, for the first time, on a visit to Mr. Boulton's house, near Birmingham, where he stayed a fortnight, Dr. Small, Dr. Darwin, and Mr. Keir were asked to meet him; and Mr. Muirhead adds that Mr. Keir was the "Wit, the Man of the World, and the finished Gentleman, who gave life and animation to the party," and whom Mr. Watt calls "a mighty chemist, and a very agreeable man."

In 1765, Dr. William Small, on leaving America, on accouut of ill-health, resided in Birmingham, and was introduced to Boulton by Benjamin Franklin. He became one of Keir's most intimate and honoured friends, his memory was greatly honoured in his life, and his loss was lamented in his death in 1775.

Early in 1778, Keir gave up all connection with the glass manufactory at Stourbridge, for the purpose of joining partnership with Boulton and Watt. The latter part of the plan, however, was not carried out, for Keir (who had lately married) did not feel himself open to engage in any great risk. In the same year, in October (1778), the Soho firm was in a state of great embarrassment. Watt was at that time absent, and it became necessary for Boulton also to leave, so that by his personal presence he might secure from his friends the help he stood so much in need of. In this emergency, with no one else to attend to the business, Keir undertook the sole charge of these extensive works. With a fuller acquaintance of the position of the firm, came a greater disinclination to take upon himself a share of their general liabilities. He, therefore, limited his connection with the Firm to the "Letter-copying Machine" business. This was an invention of Watt in 1778, which was not patented till 1780, when Keir undertook the management, and the business rapidly increased.

In 1777—1779, Keir published his "Treatise on the different kinds of Elastic Fluids or Gases," which was highly approved, and in 1779 a new edition was called for. In the same year (1779), Keir invented and took out a patent for a "Metal,

"capable of being forged or wrought, when red-hot or cold, and more fit for making "bolts, nails, and sheathing for ships, than any other metals previously applied for the "purpose," and this metal has been said to be almost identical with that now called "Muntz-Metal."

About the year 1780, the fame of Keir was largely increased and his friendship with Alexander Blair helped to enlarge it in later days. The two friends and brother-officers established works at Tipton, near Dudley, for the manufacture of Alkali (for the use of the soap makers), from the sulphates of potash and soda. The method of extraction proceeded from a discovery of Keir's, and after many trials "it was found that much labour and expense would be saved by using the products "on the spot, and the 'Chemical Works' became 'Soap Works' also." On the same lines and ground, "red lead for glass-houses, litharge, and white lead for the Staffordshire Potteries" (1806), were largely the results of the experiments of Keir and his friend Blair. In 1780 Dr. Priestley came to Birmingham, and Keir became his life-long friend, not only in his scientific researches, but in his brave defence of the Doctor in the troublous days of the local riots.

In 1787, other papers were prepared, always approved, and generally printed in the various "Transactions" of the last century, and the early days of our own times, such as "Experiments on the Congelation of the Vitriolic Acids" (1787 Royal Society); and "Fossil Alkali" (1788), &c.

In 1785, Keir was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, and in 1791, he was admitted (January 26th). "Experiments and Observations on the Dissolution of "Metals in Acids" (1790), and their Precipitations, followed by an Account of a "new compound Acid Menstruum," useful in some technical operations of "parting "metals," in which paper are "two very important and curious sections, which "probably contributed in no small degree to the (then) future discovery of the "electro-plate process." Another is headed "On the Precipitation of Silver from "Nitrous Acid by Iron"; and a fourth "On the Alterations which Iron or its Surface "undergoes by the action of a Solution of Silver in Nitrous Acid or of a pure "concentrated Nitrous Acid."

About the year 1794, Mr. Keir and Mr. Blair purchased land at Tividale on which they established the Tividale Colliery. Keir took much interest in the insight which was then being gained in the nature of the Basalts of Rowley Regis, and studied the Geographical Upheaval and worn-down rocks, which were scarcely known, even by name.

In 1793 appeared "The Martial Character of Nations"; "Reflections on the Invasion of Great Britain by French Armies" (1803); "Strata in a Pit at Tividale" (1811); "Essay on the Mineralogy of South Staffordshire"; and the "Life of Mrs. Schimmelpenninck" a memorable Lady (a Quakeress), who was a welcome friend among all the famous friends in the olden days, and whose memory was made indelible by her History, published in 1858.

A Chemical Dictionary was one of Keir's famous works, proposed by Keir in 1777—1790, 4to., two volumes, but this was more noteable in the quarto volume of 1789, which was "The First Part of a Dictionary of Chemistry, etc.," by James Keir, F.R.S., a Member of Society of Antiquaries, with twenty pages of great interest—and 208 double column pages—entirely his own handiwork, but only partially completed, and left to other hands. This volume was printed by the Birmingham firm of Pearson & Rollason. Another great work of Keir—quite out of his ordinary work—was the "Life and Writings of Thomas Day, London" (1791) which procured a large sale, and many editions were issued by the "Ingenious" and famous author of "Sandford and Merton," so well known in our grandfathers' days. Keir wrote many letters in the "Soho" circle, and helped to make the many marvellous books of the period.

In 1798 Keir, who was always ready and kindly, and had long studied the Mineralogy of Staffordshire, wrote an article on the subject for Stebbing Shaw, the learned and able historian of Staffordshire. He helped him and others on the Manufactures of Staffordshire, which articles are of great interest even now. Keir was also generous and kindly, and Sir Humphrey Davy, on a visit to Boulton's famous house and works, was greatly interested in Keir and said that he "had found him as amiable as he was great." Keir was certainly not only a famous scientist (the word would have puzzled him now), but a genial, generous, and really famous student who worked wonders a hundred years ago, and who remains as one more of the famous "men of Soho." He frequently amused himself and his friends. He wrote even the "poetry" of those days! and corrected the errors of Dr. Darwin in the "Botanical Garden." He was a prolific letter-writer and a most genial friend. His books and papers, his records of his work, his frank and kindly manners, and especially his letters to his friends, are marvellous memories. Alas! the blow came, and with it the wreck of a life-long treasure-house. On December 19th, 1807, while he was visiting with his friend Blair, at Hilton Park House, his own house at West Bromwich was burnt down, though most of his books and papers were saved. For a time he lived at a small house in the neighbourhood, and looked upon the wreck, but he still had his books and papers, and his genial, kindly, earnest memories. On October 11th, 1820, in his green old age, and still among some old friends and comrades, he died and was buried, in a plain churchyard at West Bromwich, with a mere parish registration of his name, at his own request.

His wife, Susannah Harvey (1747—1802), was married in 1770, and he left only one child, Amelia (1780—1857), who in 1801, married John Lewis Molliett, of Geneva, afterwards a Merchant and Banker in Birmingham. The daughter, Mrs. Molliett, living at Abberley Hall, Worcestershire, had carefully housed the papers and books which Keir had saved from the wreck; but alas! "the demon-fire" destroyed all the priceless records of nearly a century, and not even the humble relic of a grave stone records the memory and fame of James Keir, a noble genius of Soho.

A Plea for the Production of an Archæological Map and Index for the County of Warwick.

By the Rev. J. O. Bevan, M.A., F.S.A.,

[illegible] of an Archæological Map of Hampshire.

February 23rd, 1888.

In the face of a true and [illegible]-a-day world [illegible] are sometimes called upon to offer an excuse for their existence and an apology for their work.

The Society of the [illegible] draws a quick and [illegible] [illegible] to end. It has a distinct mission and purpose, [illegible] of an [illegible]. It delights to [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

attention directed from war or the chase as the whole object of life—to money getting; the opening out of new mines, new manufactures, new markets; to the exigencies of political life.

In this 19th century, popular literature and the newspapers have large and increasing claims; based, in part, upon the extension of the work of the stenographer, photographer, and illustrator. The field of science (practically unknown and undreamed of by our forefathers) becomes wider, its exploration more absorbing, day by day. There is a growing extension of the lazy, leisured, moneyed, educated class. There are enlarged facilities for locomotive energy—travelling at home and abroad—so as to afford opportunity to pursue the cult of scenery, which is indeed mainly a modern study.

All these forces tend to a diffusion and dispersion of interest over the whole field of public life. It was possible, at one time, for the national energy to be bound up with some specific interest; for the wave of activity to pass over the whole people, in respect, *e. g.*, to cathedral building, resulting in the elaboration of a peculiar and characteristic style.

At that epoch, nothing was thought worth building but a castle or a church. The house, the shop, the manufactory, were not in the way of being thought so much of. Now, we have a diversity of public buildings. No longer one structure, as a Cathedral or Abbey, casts its shadow over the whole town, and forms its one centre of interest and its exclusive pride. We moderns have no *one* centre of interest. For obvious reasons, then, we possess no characteristic architectural style, for there is no such concentration of thought, purpose, and will, as is necessary to produce one. We are content to copy—and that slavishly—the style of other times and other nations, and sometimes to jumble these styles together in a sort of architectural *olla podrida;* employing them in a combination the most incongruous.

After all then the world owes something to the Antiquary; for the present is built upon the past; and to know the present we must be familiar with the development of the past. We may at least claim that Archæology is a wonderful stimulant to the study of History and Geography, not to mention Philology, Ethnography, Anthropology, and the kindred Arts and Sciences, such as Heraldry, Campanology, Brass and Bell-founding, Painting, Glass-working, Lettering, Monumental Carving, Masonry, and the like. The Archæologist, indeed, is something of a magician. He waves his wand, and lo! the scene changes. New things pass away, and out of the midst of hoar antiquity an old world rises. The framework and setting, truly, may be the same, the arch of heaven with its sun or starry host, the fleecy clouds, the everlasting hills, and the flowing streams. All these are of the ages; as it was in the beginning, is now and ever shall be; and the deep-toned voice of nature, the soughing of the winds, the murmur of the brooks, ever sound that diapason. But that which is due to the action, or inaction, of men, varies from age to age. Here and there, over our land, the forest trees rise even as the martial hosts at the shrill

whistle of a Roderick Dhu. On this side and on that, a stagnant marsh extends. We look in vain for our Manchesters, our Middlesboroughs, our Barrows, perhaps even for our own Birmingham. These and many other things, are melted into air, into thin air, and like the baseless fabric of a vision, the cloud-capped towers, the gorgeous palaces, the solemn temples, the Midland Institutes, are all dissolved, and like an unsubstantial pageant faded, leave but a strange residue behind. Here and there we find a collection of huts nestling under the shade of some frowning castle, or clustering round a mill. Here and there the extended bounds and massy tower of some noted monastery—the scene of manifold activities and hospitalities.

The element of the picturesque is not lacking. Ever and anon, we see the martial baron, the gallant knight, the fair gentle ladye, the gay troubadour, the swaggering man-at-arms, the industrious merchant, the quarrelsome apprentice, the princely bishop, the sober churchman, the cowled monk, the clouted villain. Ever and anon, some gorgeous cavalcade sweeps by, illustrating a kingly progress, a knightly foray or tournament, a ceremony of Holy Church, a popular tumult, a performance of some Morality or Miracle Play.

Thus, even as we gaze into the mysteries of the past, dead men start to life on every hand; voices are heard that have been long stilled; form and colour, sound and movement, invest this embodiment and resurrection of the past. And all this is due to the Antiquary.

As in a panorama, there pass before one in quick succession our own British forefathers, Goidelic and Brython, forest children, brave, sturdy, religious, and revengeful; bound strictly down by tradition, even to the minutest details of their lives; the fetish, tapu, and medicine man of the untutored African of the present day, finding a true parallel in their case. Secondly, we list to the measured tread of the Legionaries, and watch the struggle between the Roman and the Celt. We mark the accents of the Latin tongue and the Welsh brogue as we hearken to the colloquies between the Cæsar and the Cassivelaunus. In due course we behold the advancing keels of the uninvited and roystering Dane, and the ships of the fair-haired, blue-eyed Saxon. Then the prows of the vessels outlined for us on the Bayeux tapestry touch the shore, and out leaps the courtly and chivalrous Norman, destined soon to win our country for his own.

Our quest for the things of yore leads us into many fields. We can try to ferret out something about the physical and racial characteristics of the men of the past, by investigating in suitable districts the men of the present; finding out what it is possible to discover of their affinities, their build, skull capacity, facial angle, colour of skin, hair, and eyes, their dialect, brogue, folk lore, traditions, superstitions, witchcraft, fairy tales, social customs, sports, games, pastimes, and anthropological details generally.

The British Association is endeavouring to encourage ethnographical studies of this character on the part of local clubs, in addition to those associated with

geology and kindred sciences. They would gladly furnish charts which would put investigators in the way, and facilitate the setting down and tabulation of facts and conclusions. The same may be said of the Folk-lore Society. One of their members, Sir J. B. Stone, a name well known in Birmingham, has been instrumental in founding a Photographic Survey Society for England, which has found strong support in Warwickshire. This promises to fulfil a useful function in recording the outward appearance of archæological objects and remains; which, in many cases, are changing from year to year, and in others are rapidly wasting away under the influence of the gnawing, corroding tooth of time.

Could you not, in conjunction with this agency, startle the world with an Illustrated Index and Map? This would be of immense interest: an interest that would increase in geometrical ratio from year to year. The expense would naturally be great, but would be considerably lessened by the fact that many woodcuts are even now available from your own Transactions and elsewhere.

Taking into account the whole field, it is quite clear there is much to be done, and but comparatively few observers of the right sort to do it. It would be worse than useless to send out any—enthusiasts though they might be—who were untutored or untrained.

In investigation of this kind—of a barrow, *e.g.*—there is special need for patience and untiring vigilance. In setting down details and measurements there is need for precision, discretion and exactitude. In an Archæological Index, *e. g.*, it is not enough to speak of "an old house," "an ancient church." There is needed in the worker such a knowledge of definite and significant details as to enable him to give an approximate date and period. All this needs training and experience.

We should be urged to exertion by the reflection that—as I have said—Time is not standing still, if we are; and that the work cannot afford to wait, for it may be truly said, after the manner of the Sybilline Books, that the longer we wait the smaller will be the result. He does twice who does it quickly; for the wave of oblivion is slowly but surely advancing and obliterating the records of the past. If any Birmingham Archæological Section in 1698 or 1798 had undertaken a similar work to that proposed to-day, how much would not have been perpetuated that has, alas! been destroyed or allowed to crumble into the common dust; how much of tracery and ornament would have been preserved; how much of loving and reverent contemplation for antiquities stimulated; how much of taste for the beautiful in architecture developed; and how much hasty destruction, senseless rebuilding, and barbarous restoration should we not have been spared?

Doubtless, a close and sympathetic research even now would reveal treasures the existence of which has hitherto been unsuspected. In many places it may well be, the careless foot of the passer-by has trod for centuries upon the memorials of the past, lying close to the surface, and hidden but by the shallowest of coverings;

the fibula of a Julia or a Helena; the coin dropped from the pouch or fob of a Roman Huckster; the spear head of a son of Thor; the crumbling keystone of a Gothic arch; the shot belched from a ponderous culverin. What might not the spade reveal, in your highways and byways, if handled dexterously by some religious hand in a truly reverent spirit?

Doubtless any Map or Index or Catalogue, such as we desiderate, would be sadly imperfect at first; it would yield but a partial completion. It would be, however, valuable above all things as a key, a guide or finger-post, and we may rightly expect that its publication would immediately tend to stimulate further investigation, which (to the joy of the discoverer) would reveal things long kept secret under the grip of Mother Earth.

To come more particularly to the question of the Map and the *modus operandi.*

For reasons which will afterwards become apparent, it was found necessary to publish the Herefordshire Map in two parts. The first dealing with the period up to 1000 A.D., the Præ-Roman, Roman, and (immediate) Post-Roman, or—roughly speaking—the Præ-Conquest Period; the second, the Post-Conquest, or Mediæval, from 1000 to about 1600 A.D.

Two methods of setting out and tabulating the facts may be noted. In the first place, reference may be made to that employed by Mr. Fergusson, a northern Antiquary, in his projected work dealing with the compilation of the Survey of Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire, North of the Sands. He adopts the classification of objects in the following order:—

Dovecotes.
Pigeon or Culver houses.
Sites of Battles.
Sites of Sieges.
Sites of Castles, Houses of Strength, Licenses to Crenelate, Earthworks or Roman Stations.
Sites of Monastic and Collegiate Churches.
Ancient Houses of Friars.
Collegiate Churches,
Parish Churches, Extra Parochial Donatives,
Peculiars, Chapels in Castles or in other
Churches, Remarkable Dedications,
Bridges,
Fords,
Beacon Heights,
Manor Houses, with Court Room,
Bloomeries and Cinder Heaps,
Smithies; Stithies for Shoeing, Archery Work, and repair of Agricultural Implements,
Gallows Tumps, Stocks, Pillory, Ducking Stool, Scolds' Bridle, &c.
Crosses of different kinds, and Obelisks.

He sets out the approximate date, and follows it by a reference to the squares of the 6in. Ordnance Map, on which the place is marked.

This plan has its advantages, inasmuch as it furnishes the opportunity of isolating at once a particular class of objects, and dealing with that class separately; but that we adopted is the more explicit, exhaustive, elaborate, and easy of reference, and in my judgement the more useful. It admits, moreover, of the use of maps, which in their colours and symbols tell their own tale, and lead, at a glance, to a good general idea of the lie of prominent objects, such as castles, watch-towers, beacons, &c. They tend also to furnish a clue to the localities where missing links in the lines of Roman roads or Saxon dykes may be looked for. To illustrate their usefulness, I may refer to the Herefordshire Map, on which is indicated the succession of castles on the S. W. frontier; a consideration of which will shew better than the longest explanation the necessity that existed in the Middle Ages for the defence of the English border against the Welsh.

We commenced to gather materials for the Herefordshire Map in 1891. In the month of July of that year, a meeting of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club was held at Llanthony, and the proposal to draw up such a survey was broached in a paper contributed by myself. A committee was soon afterwards appointed to carry out the scheme, and Mr. James Davies, Solicitor, of Hereford, and I, were deputed to send a circular, with appropriate Forms, to all persons who were likely to help. Unfortunately, the circular received but scant attention, the Forms were not returned to any great extent, and the burden of the work consequently fell upon the two secretaries. They examined the printed literature on the Archæology of the country, worked through the Ordnance Maps, collected first-hand information, and tabulated a list of "finds." The Survey is drawn up in two forms, that of an Index of Places and enumeration of the chief objects found in them; and, in addition, that of a Map, with suitable symbols in distinctive colours, summarising, for the eye, the general purport of the Index. There is a certain amount of letterpress, in the form of a Preface and Appendices, and a brief Bibliography is appended to aid further investigations.

The execution of the project took six years to accomplish.

The subscriptions collected in our preliminary stage amounted to close on £30. This amount was expended chiefly in the purchase of a complete set of 6in. Maps of the Ordnance survey of the County, which were bound in 3 volumes, and ultimately handed over to the Woolhope Club for the use of its members.

Our balance sheet stands thus:—

Dr.	£	s.	d.	Cr.	£	s.	d.
Sundry Subscriptions ...	28	3	5	Printers' Bills	8	15	5
				Ordnance Maps	13	15	0
				Postages, &c.	5	13	0
	£28	3	5		£28	3	5

In due time we put ourselves in communication with the Society of Antiquaries, and engaged to work on the lines laid down for their general survey, upon the understanding that they would undertake the publication, and supply the Club with a certain number of copies at prime cost.

When our MS. was complete, we forwarded it to the Society, which laid it before the Committee appointed to deal with such Surveys. This Committee made some valuable suggestions, and one of its members, Mr. F. Haverfield—the best living authority on Romano-British remains—carefully checked our entries, and contributed largely to the Introduction and Appendices. All this took time, but the result was the more valuable.

Besides the Map of Herefordshire, there are now published Surveys dealing with Kent, Hertfordshire, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire North of the Sands.

The MSS. relating to the rest of Lancashire are in the hands of the Society. Other Surveys are in progress relating to Wales, Oxfordshire, Northumberland, Cornwall, Essex, Sussex, Surrey, Berks, and Derbyshire. Little Herefordshire has alone completed the work by the conclusion of the Post-Conquest or Mediæval Survey.

Appended are the recommendations of the Council of the Society of Antiquaries, as to the method of preparing the Surveys, and as to the conditions under which the Society will undertake their publication when completed. Each Survey should consist of the following parts:—

1. A Bibliography of the Archæology of the County.
2. An Index containing *a* the locality of discovery, *b* its period, *c* its nature, *d* books where recorded.
3. A Map, with symbols and appropriate colours.

The Discoveries, recorded in the Topographical Index, should be arranged under the names of the places where they were made, and not under parishes, unless the exact locality is uncertain. If cross references to old parishes and the like be thought necessary, they can be tabulated in an Appendix to the Survey.

The names of places are to be arranged in strictly alphabetical order, with the discoveries of the several periods arranged in chronological order after each name, so as to avoid entering the name of a place more than once.

Following the names of places, there is to be a narrow column with the period indicated, as follows:—

PRE-R	PRE-ROMAN
E.	EARTHWORKS.
ROMAN	ROMAN
POST-R	POST-ROMAN

With respect to the Maps, it has been decided—

1. That the County Maps shall be published on a scale of four miles to the

The result is before you, and I have much pleasure in presenting the 2 parts to your Society. It may be a guide to others if I mention that the cost to us of 1000 copies of Part II. was about £73.

The expenditure for forms, circulars, and postages, for the production and advertisements, may be set down as another £10. Thus the cost works out at 1s. 8d. per copy. The selling price has been fixed at 2s. 6d.

Experience has shown that the Form we sent out was insufficient. To assist ordinary observers as to what to look for and record, it would be better to adopt a far more elaborate scheme, and to set out in their entirety a detailed list of those objects sought to be included in the survey.

Such are the following:—

PALÆOLITHIC REMAINS.
Flint and other implements.

NEOLITHIC REMAINS.

MEGALITHIC REMAINS.
Dolmaen.
Menhirion.

EARTHWORKS.
Oppida. Settlements.
Mounds.

BEACONS.
Signal Stations.

MISCELLANEOUS.
Earthenware.
Ornaments.
Coins.

CASTLES.
Houses of Strength.
Chapel.
Keep.
Moat.

VILLAGE.
Cross.
Holy Well.
Gallows. Pillory. Stocks. Ducking Stool.
Scolds' Bridle.

MANOR HOUSES.
Court Room.
Columbarium. Dove Cote. Culverhouse.

BRIDGES.
Fords.
Pier.
Wharf.

BLOOMERIES (Scoriae Heaps).
Forge. Smithy. Stithy.

SACRED SITES.
Lady Arbour.
„ Lift.
„ Meadow.
„ Pool.

CATHEDRAL CHURCH.
Churchyard.
Moat.
Lych Gate.
Tithe Barn.
Cross (Preaching or other).
Obelisks.
Tombs.
Sundial.
Shutters to screen Church windows while ball games were played.
Cock Pit in Churchyard.
Tower. Detached or otherwise.
Campanile.
Wooden Tower.
Bells.
Priest's Chamber.
Sanctuary Ring.
Stoup.
Period (Church). Material (Wood?)
Characteristic features.
Sanctuary.
Reredos.
Altar Cloth.
Credence Table.
Piscina.
Aumbry.
Sedilia.
Communion Plate and Linen.
Relics.
Service Books. Booklets or Forms of Prayer. Crusaders' Indulgences, etc.
Vestments. Cope Chest.
Hagioscope.
Galilee.
Screen.

Rood do. and Loft.
Tombs. Monuments. Brasses. Incised Slabs. Wax figures.
Wooden figures. Cenotaphs. Heart tombs.
Arcades.
Canopies.
Tympana.
Organ.
Pews. Bench ends. Misereres.
Clock. Candelabra. Hour glass.
Stained glass.
Grille-work.
Trendel wheel.
Font and Cover.
Chests.
Banners. Helmets, etc.
Volchre Chambers.
Leper, or Low-side window.
Crypt.
Well.
Chantry and other Chapels.
Registers.
Churchwardens' Accounts.

MONASTIC AND RELIGIOUS HOUSES GENERALLY.
Priories.
Nunneries.
Fratries.

MANORS.
Court Room.

MOATED HOUSES (Semi-fortified).

HALF-TIMBERED HOUSES.

FURNITURE.

COAT OF ARMS AT INNS, ETC.

Even this list, long as it is, is by no means exhaustive.

Such is the history of the production of our Map, and such the outcome of our experience. I can hardly think that a dissentient voice will be raised to the proposition that an Archæological Map should be prepared for Warwickshire, and I trust I may not be thought impertinent in coming here this evening to urge its inception, for (to a large extent) I count myself a Warwickshire man.

The difficulties in the way are but slight. You have men in your midst who

Salford Priors:

(SECOND PAPER)

Salford Magna; or, Priors Salford.

BY THE REV. FATHER ARTHUR L. CHATTAWAY.

March 23rd, 1898.

E are told by the Chronicle of Evesham Abbey that in the year 708 Kenred, King of Mercia, gave to the newly-established Abbey the lands at Salford.

Dugdale says that the place "had its "name originally from a salt spring that "hath been there, as the inhabitants ob-"serve, from the access of pigeons to the "place where it was, which is now choakt "up." In a previous paper the story of Salford Minor, or Abbot's Salford has been sketched, and this paper will deal with the history and antiquities of Salford Magna or Salford Priors.

We learn through Dugdale that unlike Salford Minor it was soon lost to the Monks. It is not known who deprived them of it, although May, in his History of Evesham, states that Odo seized it. It is certain that in Edward the Confessor's time Lady Godeva, the wife of Earl Leofric, had possession of it. After the Norman Conquest Levitha, a nun, had it of the King's gift and held it at the time of the general Survey in 1086, there being then a church, with a mill rated at five shillings, and woods containing two furlongs in length and half a furlong in breadth, valued at £6.

But upon the advancement of Henry de Newburgh to the Earldom of Warwick, this lordship was (inter alia) given to him, as it seems; for it appears Earl Roger his son and successor possessed it, and thereof enfeoft Geoffrey de Clinton to hold by the service

of a Knight's fee. Howbeit Levitha, the nun, being thus ousted, commenced her suit in King Henry's court, [*i.e.* Henry I.] and recovered it; whereupon the said Geoffrey came to some agreement with her, and with her consent, with the good liking of the said Earl, gave it to the Canons of Kenilworth upon the foundation of that Monastery. [Hence the name Priors Salford or Salford Priors.] In confirmation whereof the same Earl, whose consent therein he had, acquitted to them the said Knight's service, and ratified the grant in the king's presence. And to the intent that no farther challenge should be made by those who might pretend thereto, Margaret, the Countess (mother to Earl Roger), by full consent of the same Earl and the rest of her sons, added her charter of confirmation in regard she had in the interest of the moiety of it. In consideration whereof Bernard the said Prior then gave her 20 marks of silver. So far, Dugdale.

A record of Geoffrey de Clinton's deed of gift is preserved in the Leiger Book or Chartulary of Kenilworth Priory referred to later in this paper. The Charter of Geoffrey says, "Be it known to everybody, French and English, relatives and "strangers, that I, Geoffrey, for the remission of my sins, for the good estate of my "Lord Henry the king and his wife and children, and of my kinsfolk, with the "consent of the said king, have founded the Church of Kenilworth in honour of Saint "Mary, and I have granted to the Canons there regularly serving God the whole "estate of Kenilworth. I have further granted them the manor of Salford—and "others, with all appertaining to them—freed and quitted from all secular service "to the king and to myself and to my heirs."

He then threatens any of his heirs or relatives who shall dare to interfere with his donation, but bestows his blessing, and invokes that of heaven, upon those who shall be careful to observe and respect his wishes in the matter. Following the charter of Geoffrey in the Kenilworth Leiger Book, is a confirmatory Charter by his son Henry de Clinton, and another by Geoffrey's grandson. Then there is a Charter of Roger Count of Warwick, and of Margaret already referred to, and lastly, a Charter of King Henry I., confirming the gift of Geoffrey to the Prior and Canons of Kenilworth.

Of the settlements of disputes between Evesham Abbey and Kenilworth Priory an account was given in the former paper (Dec., 1895).

Briefly, in the reign of Henry I. (1100 to 1135) an agreement or composition was made between the Canons of Kenilworth and the Abbot of Evesham. It does not appear what was the subject of this agreement, but most likely it had regard to the disputed ownership of some land. Probably the Canons claimed it in consideration of the fact that the Chaplain of their church at Salford Priors ministered to the spiritual wants of the Abbot's Salford people, who had at that time no chapel of their own. It would appear that, up to the time of the dissolution of Monasteries, Kenilworth still had some claim upon Abbot's Salford, for they leased the tithe lands of Abbot's Salford for 70 years to William Grey, of Wood Bevington.

A second agreement was made about the year 1163, or a little later, for Dugdale says, "About the time of King Henry the Second's reign, there was an agreement "made between the monks of Evesham and the Canons of Kenilworth, touching "the Chapel of Little Salford, whereby it appears the Canons released to the Monks "of Evesham all the lands which had been given to maintain Divine Service in that "chapel," which had evidently been only lately built. "The first agreement was, "however, to remain undisturbed, and the meadow that was given to the Chapel was "partly given to the Church of Great Salford. Which Canons of Kenilworth being "so possessed of this lordship, had divers liberties and privileges therein, viz., Court "lief, Assize of bread and beer, gallows and weyfs, for all which they pleaded "prescription in 13 of Edward I. (1285), and had allowance of these, having been "therein, as it appears by the record of 19 of Edward I. (1291), four Carucates of "land rated at 20s. the Carucate, 16£ in rent of Assize, together with Ferm of the "Mill, and in pleas and perquisites two marks."

In the various ratings which took place in the Middle Ages, the value of Salford changed from time to time.

Pope Innocent II., to whose predecessors in the See of Rome the first fruits and tenths of all ecclesiastical benefices had for a long time been paid, gave the same in 1253 to King Henry III. for three years, which occasioned the *Norwich Taxation* in the year 1254, sometimes called *Pope Innocent's Valor.* This Valor was printed in 1802 by command of King George III.

In the year 1288, Pope Nicholas IV. granted the tenths to the king for six years, towards defraying the expenses of the Expedition to the Holy Land. And that they might be collected to the full, a new taxation by the King's precept was begun in 1288 and finished in 1291, by the Bishops of Winchester and Lincoln, and Nash states that according to this "Valor" all the dignities and benefices were for long afterwards rated, and in many respects were still so rated in his day, namely 1781.

By this taxation Salford Priors was valued at 16 marks, of which the Vicar had 10 marks, or £6 15s. 0d. The Abbot of Evesham had 30/- from the Canons.

In 1340, Parliament granted to Edward III., towards carrying on his wars with France, the ninth of all grain, fleeces, and lambs for two years, and also the ninth part of all the goods and chattels of citizens and burgesses, and of foreign merchants which dwell not in the cities nor boroughs, and also the people that dwell in forests and wastes, and all other that live not of their gain nor store . . . shall contribute one fifteenth. But it was not the intent of the king that by this grant of fifteenths the poor boraile people nor any that live of their bodily travaile shall be comprised within the tax of the said fifteenths, but shall be discharged by the advice of them that be deputed Taxers and of the great men that shall be deputed Surveyors. The clergy gave the king a tenth.

Taxers and Collectors were appointed, and they made enquiries in the various towns, and received evidence upon the oath of the parishioners of each parish in

1341. At Salford the return was:—The Church is taxed at £10 6s. 8d., and the ninth of the corn, fleece, and lambs is valued this year at £7 0s. 0d., but the glebe with its tenths are worth per annum 64/8. It is stated there are no merchants, nor other people in this parish who ought to give a fifteenth of their goods.

In 1388, *i. e.*, in the eleventh year of Richard II.'s reign, the Canons obtained a Charter of free warren in the Demesne land of Salford Priors.

Stevens gives a copy of the License granted by King Henry VIII. to the Abbot and Community of Canons of St. Augustine at Kenilworth to acquire land and other income, of the yearly value of £40. The License states—the King stipulates that the Abbot and Community and their successors shall celebrate a Solemn Mass of the Name of Jesus every Friday in the year, except Good Friday, to the praise and honour of the Almighty, and that there shall be said a special Collect in the Mass for the good estate of the King and his Consort Catherine, and that after they had passed from this light there should be always said another special collect for their souls. The King adds that he grants the permission under these conditions because he is thinking not only of his soul's salvation, but also because of the singular devotion which he had for this Mass of the Sweetest Name of Jesus, and specially because he wants to prevent the failure of the magnificent work of the Abbey, which had been founded to the glory of the Inviolate Virgin Mary, Mother of God and of all Saints, and further to increase divine worship in the said Monastery. Old Stevens says that perhaps the King granted the favour in order that he might have the more to rob them of afterwards, for the very next document which Stevens copies is the surrender of the Abbey into the King's hands.

In the 26th year of Henry VIII., a survey of Church lands was taken preparatory to the general dissolution. The original of the Survey of Kenilworth, written by a Secretary but signed by the Abbot, is preserved among the Cotton MSS. in the British Museum. "The Vicarage was rated at £10, out of which the Procurations and synodals then issuing were $10^{s.}/5^{d.}$," to quote Dugdale's statement.

At the actual time of the dissolution the land at Salford Priors was leased, and so did not come to the crown until the time of James I. Dr. Thomas says that on June 28th in the 24th year of King Henry VIII. (two years before the Survey), the Canons "set to William Grey of Wode Bevington, Gent., and his assigns, the scite "of this their Manor of Salford, with the appurtenances, and a sheep house within the "fild with all the demesne lands, meadows, lesewes, and pastures, and a lesue called "the *Mersh*, with all manner of tithe, woll, lambs, corn & hay of the said demesne "lands, and with all the tithe, woll, & lambs of Church Salford, Dinyngthon, "Cokbevyngthon, & only the lambs of Abbot's Salford, for the term of lxx years, "at the yearly rent of xviiil, and finding of the said convent, his cellarer, and his "steward with all things necessary for their men & horses at their keeping two courts "here yearly."

An Inventory of church furniture was made under Edward VI. in the 6th year

of his reign, *i. e.*, about 1559. Indeed it was not only of church furniture, but also of guilds, brotherhoods, and fraternities. At Salford Priors, the inventory tells us:—
"Itm there a 1 chalice, 2 bells, one little bell, VI. vestments, one vellet, one silke,
"iiij or dornix.*
"ij copes silk
"iij Albes
"iij Altercloths
"iij towells
"one Cross, bras
"iiij or Candlesticks, bras
"one Sensor, bras."

When at last King James I. obtained his right to the property, it chanced that he was in debt, and so he passed it on to certain persons in trust for payment of his debts. On this an old writer comments thus:—"This is a fact much to be regretted, "that any Sovereign of this favoured land should be obliged to convey part of his "estate to trustees to liquidate his debts, and it is to be hoped will never be taken "as a precedent by any future monarch reigning under the English Crown."

The property was then bought by Sir Simon Clarke.

Let us now describe the church and then return to speak of the new owner of Salford Priors.

THE CHURCH.

The church is dedicated to St. Matthew. There are several points of interest in the building, although the hand of the modern "restorer" has done much to mar the old place. Brewer in his book on the "Beauties of England and Wales" says that there are some *Saxon* remains in the church, and this statement has been repeated by some later writers. But no less an authority than Bloxam, who knew the church thoroughly, says, that after visiting this and a good many other churches, he had only met with two specimens of Anglo-Saxon architecture in the County. One, he says, is the approach to Tamworth Castle and the other is in Wootton-Wawen Church. "I have not met with any other church, any part of which is of Anglo-Saxon Con-"struction." There is a Norman-like window in the west wall of the Tower, and the north door in the Nave is Norman, "not sculptured with figures but enriched with a diversity of the mouldings peculiar to this style." It is curious that the same Augustinian Canons who owned Salford Priors Church, had at Kenilworth what Bloxam considers to be the most remarkable, and in some points unique, rich Norman doorway in the west wall of the tower of Kenilworth Church. This door was probably removed from the Priory Church, which had been built in the 12th century, to the Parish Church which was built in the 14th.

The pointed arch was introduced in the 12th century, and up to the close of that

* NOTE.—Dornix or Dornyx means coarse Damask made at Tournai or Doornix, or in Flemish, as it is called to-day, Doornik.

century we find the pointed arch with features partaking more or less of Norman detail. Vestiges of this appear in arches in Salford Priors Church. Bloxam says "The pointed "arch accompanied with moulding of Norman character was often intermixed with "the semi-circular arch, and this is called the Mixed or Semi-Norman style." After a while the semi-circular arch was discarded and also the Norman mouldings. In plain masonry devoid of moulding, the edges of the arches, instead of being left square or rectangular were chamfered or bevelled. Of this style, which prevailed in the 13th century and was called the "Early English," Bloxam says he could not recollect any perfect and ancient specimen in the County of a Church constructed principally or entirely in this style, one of the most prominent features in which consists of the windows, which are long and narrow, and pointed in the head like a lancet. But the Chancel of this Church is in this style, and is lighted on the North and South sides by narrow lancet-headed windows at some distance apart. In the last wall is a triple window, consisting of three narrow lights, each pointed in the head, the middle rising above that on each side. A triple East window thus disposed has been considered as symbolical of the Holy Trinity.

In St. Matthew's Church "there is one "of those rare in-"stances in this coun-"try, though common "enough on the Con-"tinent, of a window "with Flamboyant "tracery, but this pro-"perly belongs to a "subsequent period."

The Augustinian Canons of Kenilworth were in the habit of carting red sand stones at great expense, from their quarries there, for the doorways and windows, which were carved by their own skilful workmen at home, in order to adorn the churches which belonged to the Monastery. I cannot say that they sent anything to Salford—but several of the window heads—notably those of the triple East windows, and the head of a doorway in the North wall of the Church, are of red sand-stone. Two small windows, which were built into the North and South walls of the Chancel have been called "*leper windows.*" That which was formerly in the South wall was removed when the aisle was lengthened in modern times, and is now to be found in the East wall of the aisle.

I cannot bring myself to accept this designation of the windows. These "low-side" windows, as they are sometimes called, were used for communicating lazars, or others afflicted with this contagious disease, or for confessing penitents, and were provided with shutters, which could only be opened from within. But there seems to be no arrangement of this kind in this case. Besides, it would seem to have been unnecessary to have two such windows opposite each other. The splay of the window opening is such that a person outside would not be able to see the altar in the Church.

Whilst speaking of the interior of the Church, mention must be made of the fact that, writing half a century ago, Bloxam says that "plain cylindrical or truncated "cone-like shaped fonts—probably Roman—are to be met with at Warmington, *Priors* "*Salford*," and elsewhere. This font has been replaced by a modern one, and I have not been able to discover what has become of the ancient one. It is very much to be hoped that, if it has not been broken up, it should be preserved.

Dr. Thomas, in his 1730 edition of Dugdale, says, that in one of the north windows of the Church were these arms:—Argent, frette or, each joint charged with a roundell azure. There is no trace to be found of this glass, nor, as far as I could learn, any tradition of its existence or removal. There remain some portions of ancient pew work which Bloxam pronounces to be of the 15th century—"being distinguished by the curved panel work at the sides." These I take to be the two desks under the Chancel and near the pulpit. He says further, The reading desk [to hold the Bible in English and the paraphrases of Erasmus on the Gospel ordered by the Royal Injunction in 1547 to be provided] or as it was "formerly called '*The* "*reading pew*,' was first ordered to be constructed by the Canons of 1604, which "directed a convenient seat to be made for the minister to read service in, and this "will account for the fact that the reading pew is often of much later date than the "pulpit near which it is set. The earliest reading pew I have met with in this "County is that in *Priors Salford* Church which is ornamented with flat and shallow "carved work of the 17th century, and bears the date of 1616." Which is the reading pew, I can only conjecture. As some writers give 1616 as the date of the *pulpit*, I can only suppose that this may have been the reading pew. It used to stand on

the North side outside the Chancel Arch, whereas it is now on the South side. Its old carved work has been replaced by some modern work of a local benefactress.

The Register of Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials was begun in 1568, and the old Vellum Volume contains many interesting entries, to some of which I shall refer further on.

There are eight bells in the tower. Six bells were made in 1735 by Richard Sanders, but one of them was recast in 1867. Two other bells, made by J. Mears, were added in 1836.

The inscriptions on four of the bells are—

"If well you ring,
"Will sweetly sing."

"God prosper this parish"; "Peace and good neighbourhood"; and "Richard Sanders made us all."

Outside the South Aisle there is a tower having three niches for statues. On this side of the Church the gargoyles and windows of a different style give the Church a much more interesting appearance than the plain North side.

Inside the Church, in the Aisle there is a piscina at the east end, and another near to the west end. The Rev. G. Miller suggests that the little tower is "probably "connected with the "Chapel to which the "piscina belonged." He then adds "The "lower part of this "tower is of very early "work." As far as I can discover there is no difference between the work of the lower and upper parts of this tower. It serves the

useful purpose of holding the flight of stone steps which gives approach to the roof—and I can imagine no reason for connecting such a tower with a chapel.

There are several monuments in the church, of which mention will be made in due course.

THE WOODCHURCH-CLARKE FAMILY.

Attention must now be paid to the somewhat remarkable person into whose hands the property came, and who became Lord of the Manor. Sir Simon Clarke was descended from the family of the Woodchurches, of Woodchurch in Kent. In the year 1631 he erected a monument in Salford Priors Church which states that "it is according to the lineal descent from father to Sonne of the Clarkes, alias "Woodchurch, in Kent, with their wives and cotes of armes." There are 16 coats of arms. The second is that of Ralph Woodchurch, keeper of the Tower of London in the time of William Rufus. The fourth coat is of Thomas Woodchurch, who married Anne, daughter to Sir Walter Harvie, Knight, Lord Mayor of London, who lived in King John's time. The fifth is of Sir Simon Woodchurch, who married Susanna, daughter and heir of Henry Clarke. Their son was Clarke Woodchurch, and their grandson called himself Peter Clarke, alias Woodchurch, and all his successors became Clarkes.

Clarke Woodchurch married Bennett, co-heir of Robert Shert or Shurt, whose arms are impaled on the sixth coat, and are, Argent on a bend sable, a rose of the first. I notice this coat of arms because Featherstone's edition published in 1877, of "Camden's Visitation of Warwickshire in 1619" at page 198, and at page XV. assigns these arms to "*Spark*." But there is no record of any marriage of a Woodchurch with one of a family of that name, and the arms given belong to Clarke Woodchurch's wife, Bennett Shurt. I have copied part of the Harleian MS.—No. 1165—which is in the hand-writing of one of Camden's deputies, Sampson Lennard, Blue Mantle, and my copy of that page reads "*Sherr*" and not Spark.

The eighth coat belongs to Sir John Clarke, who had become a baronet in 1617. He was born in 1570, and married as his first wife, Margaret, daughter and co-heir of John Alderford and Elizabeth Dormer, who lived at Salford Hall at Abbot's Salford.

Lady Margaret had five children, Walter and Thomas Clarke, who died in infancy; Woodchurch Clarke, who was born in 1615, grew up to man's estate, married and left one daughter; Peter Clarke, born 1611, of whom we shall have to speak again, and John Clarke, who became Sir John Clarke, Baronet. He married but left no issue. Now, Sir Simon Clarke, the first Baronet, lived at Broome Court, then within the parish of Salford Priors, but not now included within the parish boundaries. The statement that he dwelt at Salford Hall is incorrect. In a former paper I have traced the history of Salford Hall and of the families who lived there, and Sir Simon Clarke was not one of them. Of course he knew the place well and visited it, and brought his first wife from within its walls.

It is also erroneous to say that he lived in a manor house built near Salford Priors Church, in a field called "The Vineyard." One writer ventures to state that there are there still extensive traces of ruins. I have quite failed to discover such traces. The name of vineyard appears to have a very simple origin; for, not infrequently, in the neighbourhood are still to be found vines growing and producing fruit in the open, and probably there was a time when the experiment of vine culture was tried at Salford Priors, and when the English labourers went into the vineyard to work.

Sir Simon's house was at Brome Court, not where the present house stands, but nearer the moat. Probably some of the old materials were used in building the existing house, for in the front of it are three stones graven with arms of the Woodchurch-Clarke family, and in the wall of an out-house in the garden are some of the stones carved with the like arms, and one of them has carefully been inserted upside down.

A window in the entrance hall of Brome Court contains glass taken from the old Court. The four coats of arms are those given as the third, fifth, eleventh, and thirteenth in the Woodchurch monument in the church at Salford Priors.

3rd. The arms of Roger Woodchurch, of Woodchurch, and of his wife Isabella Wakehurst.
5th. Sir Simon Woodchurch, Knight, and Susan Clarke.
11th. William Clarke and Elizabeth Winterborne.
13th. Humphrey Clarke and Margaret Mayne.

Sir Simon's wife, Elizabeth Alderford, died in 1617, in the year in which he became Baronet. His second wife was the daughter of Thomas Hobson, Gentleman, of Cambridge. She had no children. She lived to the ripe old age of 84, and saw the fourth baronet succeed to the title. She is buried at Salford Priors. A description of the monument erected to her after her death in 1699 will be given in its proper place.

Sir Simon Clarke was a considerable sufferer in the cause of Charles I. He compounded for his estate as a Royalist for the sum of £800.

Lady Dorothy Clarke helped to pay the family debts and took over the Salford property and bequeathed it to her nephew, Sir Fulwar Skipwith, in whose family it remained until it was bought by the Marquis of Hertford.

I hope I may be pardoned a dittle digression in order to introduce here a story of some interest.

Kenilworth Leiger Book.

Sir William Dugdale lived in our county. Early in the 17th Century a Mr. Wm. Burton, of Lindley, had written a description of Leicestershire. This Burton and another, the author of the well-known "Anatomy of Melancholy," were educated at Sutton Coldfield Grammar School. On reading Burton's book on Leicestershire, Dugdale was fired with the ambition to do something for Warwickshire. A relative

of Burton—Mr. Fisher Dilke, of Shustoke—introduced Dugdale to him. Burton then, about the year 1630, introduced Dugdale to Sir Simon Archer, of Umberslade, in the parish of Tanworth. Sir Simon Archer had a collection of various ancient manuscripts relating to Warwickshire and Warwickshire families. These manuscripts he gave to Dugdale, and introduced him to most of the gentlemen of note in the county. Let Wood, in his "Fasti Oxonienses," tell the next part of the story in his own words. Among the said gentlemen he "found none more knowing in, and forward to "encourage such a work than Sir Simon Clarke, of Brome Court, in the parish "of Salford, who with all freedom imparted to him not only divers ancient "writings of consequence, but also the leiger book of the priory of Kenilworth, from "which he found copious matter, as by his frequent quotation of it in 'The Antiquities "'of Warwick' it appears. The acquaintance of the said three persons, Burton, "Clarke, and Archer, he endeavoured to continue with all observance imaginable, "especially with the last." In 1658 Sir Simon Archer (not Sir Simon Clarke as one writer says) took Dugdale to London and introduced him to Sir Henry Spelman, then an old man of 80 years. Spelman helped Dugdale to a position in the Herald's College, and Dugdale afterwards edited Spelman's Glossary. The Chartulary of Kenilworth which Sir Simon Clarke lent to Dugdale at his visit to Brome Court about the year 1637, is indeed a valuable document. It is of vellum and contains 276 pages. The first three pages are headed and initialled in Rubric, but from page 4 all initial letters of Charters are omitted, as if the Scribes intended to fill them in at a later date. Salford is mentioned many times in the various charters of the Clintons and others. The manuscript then preserved at Brome Court and handled by Sir Simon Clarke and Dugdale is still in existence. It is No. 3650 of the Harleian Collection of MSS. On a fly-leaf at the beginning is written by Mr. James West, "I bought this book of Morgan Greeves, Esq., son of that excellent Antiquary, Richard "Graves, of Mickleton in Gloucestershire, February the 18th, 1731." I can only suppose that one of the Clarkes, who was in need of funds, must have sold this precious book to Richard Greeves or Graves.

Another inscription on the fly-leaf is in the handwriting of Robert Harley, of Brampton Bryan, Herefordshire, who was so assiduous a collector of ancient manuscripts. He was Speaker of the House of Commons in 1700—1, and created Earl of Oxford and Mortimer in 1711. His collection of MSS., still called the "Harleian Manuscripts," was given by the Duke of Portland and his Duchess, the only daughter and heiress of Edward Earl of Oxford, to be added to the Cottonian Library. Both collections are now in the British Museum.

The inscription by Robert Harley runs as follows:—"This book was given to "me by my worthy and learned friend James West, Esq., January 28th, 1736—7. "This gentleman told me this was the only manuscript that was saved out of the "fire when his noble collection of manuscripts were burnt, January 6th, 1736—7, his "chambers were quite burnt to the ground." Thanks to this lucky escape we know

more of the history of this county than otherwise would have been possible to discover.

MONUMENTS.

And now a brief description of the various Monuments of interest in the church.

I have already spoken of the Woodchurch-Clarke Monument, with its sixteen shields of arms, erected in 1631 by Sir Simon, the 1st Bart., "in memory of his wife and his two sonnes by her, and ye Lady Dorothy his second wife." Another inscription gives particulars of these two infant sons, Walter and Thomas Clarke, who died in infancy.

There is an inscription also to the 3rd Baronet, Sir Simon, who was born at Dunkirk, in Flanders, his father, Peter Clarke, being then a chief commander in the wars between the Spaniards and the United-Netherlanders. This Sir Simon's wife—Mercy Brace—also lies here, and unless her monument also lies, "She was the best of wives, best of mothers, and best of friends."

In a niche in the north wall below the communion rail, there is, to quote Dr. Thomas, "the statue of a child in full proportion," and under it, "Here lieth "Margaret, grandchild of Sir Simon Clarke, knight and baronet. She died January "14, 1640, Aged three years and a half." The lines which follow were thought by Camden to be sufficiently curious to quote in his chapter on Epitaphs in his book "*Remains concerning Great Britain.*"

"As careful Nurses to their beds do lay
"Their children, which too long would wantons play;
"So, to prevent all my ensuing crimes,
"Nature, my nurse, laid me to bed betimes."

On a large monument, fixed to the south wall of the chancel, are the Woodchurch, alias Clarke's arms impaling Or, on a chevron between three besants, as many cinquefoils, and under them an inscription stating that Lady Dorothy Clarke died, aged 84, in 1699, and that her bones lie here, and that the monument was erected to her memory by Sir Fulwar Skipwith, her loving nephew.

The posture of the monument recalls the sarcastic remarks of Webster in the last century. In his "Tragedy of the Duchess of Malfy," he speaks of those who "on their tombs do not lie as they were wont, seeming to pray up to heaven, but "with their hands under their cheeks, as if they died of the toothache. They are "not carved with their eyes fixed on the stars; but as their minds were wholly "bent upon the world, the self same way they seem to turn their faces."

Of the Alderford and Stanford Monuments, I have already written in my previous paper, and there is no need to repeat their description. The Alderford Monument was erected by Sir Simon Clarke to his father-in-law. The Clarkes were fond of erecting monuments. There is a slab in the south aisle erected by Lady

Dorothy to Alese Morris, who had been a servant to the Clarkes for 21 years (1640). Her father had been servant 26 years, and her brother 30 years.

On a flat stone in the chancel are the arms of Archer. Three arrows impaling a cross bottone. Ann Archer, widow of Robert Archer, of Bevington, died in 1713, and is here buried ; close by are some younger members of the family. On a third stone—Archer impaling Brawn, Barry, on a Canton in chief, a dragon's head erased. Joseph Archer died 1715.

In the body of the church are two inscriptions to William and Ann Rawlins and to their daughter. Arms—Three swords in Pale bar with a mullet.

A Latin inscription records that the daughter of William Bartholomew, a former Vicar of the church, died in 1689, aged 19.

Finally, a stone in the floor says that a William Parker died in 1730, aged 65.

CHARITIES.

This would seem to be the William Parker who left by will a rent charge of £4 for coats and hats to 6 poor men or boys. This was increased by a further rent charge of £6 by another William Parker. In 1786 these were vested in Robert Parker. It appears that no documents relating to these bequests were known to exist, but out of an estate at Alcester (the property of Thos. Purton, but formerly of the Parkers) an annual sum of £6 was applied to the purchase of six coats to six poor men. The report of the Charity Commissioners in 1841 gives the income as £6 0s. 0d. for coats and hats for six poor men or boys.

Another Charity is the William Perkins Charity. William Perkins was a native of the parish. In 1656, he gave the sum of £232 to purchase certain premises in Stratford-on-Avon in order to receive rents therefrom to erect and establish a free Grammar School within the parish of Salford Priors, for the instruction of the Greek, Latin, and English tongues, and catechising the children. The feofees should elect a graduate of Oxford or Cambridge to be schoolmaster, provided he be not Vicar of the parish. The School is now merely an Elementary School, open to all the children of the parish, and also to two poor children from each of the parishes of King's Brome, Bidford, Prior's Cleeve, and Harvington.

The Charity Commissioners report in 1841 that there are seven houses and £1 0s. 0d. The income was stated to be £41 8s. 0d. in 1850.

There used to be a third charity. Joseph Medley died in 1756, and left monies for repairing his tomb and for the poor of the parish. At the end of a law suit in 1808, nineteen guineas were spent on the tomb, and the sum of £20 2s. 6d. was handed to the Churchwardens. It was intended to let the interest accumulate so as to provide another coat in addition to the Parker Charity. In 1841 the annual interest was reported by the Charity Commission as being £1 0s. 0d. I am informed that the charity has of late years disappeared.

WORTHIES OF SALFORD PRIORS.

Dr. Thomas tells us that a handsome Monument on a Pillar in the Quire of St. Andrew's, Holborn, has an inscription to George Egeock, of Salford Priors, Knight. He was, as usual, possessed of all the manly virtues. His wife, Dorothy St. John, was a most sorrowful widow, and erected the monument to be something of an alleviation of her widowhood.

I cannot understand Dr. Thomas's statement that the monument existed in his day, for I understood that although St. Andrew's, Holborn, was one of the churches which escaped the fire of 1666, yet it was in so hopelessly ruined a condition that it was taken down except the choir in 1676, and a new building erected. So far as I have been able to discover, no recent book contains any account of the monument which Dr. Thomas describes. At the present day there seems to be no trace of it in the church.

In the old register at Salford Priors there is abundant evidence of the existence of an Egeock family there. There were apparently at Salford Priors three brothers. George, the youngest, born in 1561, Thomas and Richard—the lattter of whom is styled Richard Egeock, *gentleman*. There is the record of the marriage of Thomas Egeock in February, 1570, and the records of the baptisms of no less than fourteen children of the two Egeocks—seven daughters and seven sons. Five sons and one daughter of Thomas Egeock, and six daughters and two sons of Richard Egeock, gentleman.

Salford Priors produced a more famous man than Egeock in the person of VALENTINE GREEN. Mr. Langford says Green was born in 1737, and Colville's "Warwickshire Worthies" gives the same date, and the writer of his life in the Dictionary of National Biography, in its volume published in 1890, says "Valentine Green was born at Salford, near Chipping Norton (*sic!*), in Oxfordshire." Let me correct all three by saying that the entry in the Salford Priors register of Baptisms says, "Valentine, son of Francis Green, October 16th, 1739." Green, after studying for the law at Evesham, went to Worcester, and there he learned line engraving. Going to London he became one of the first artists who gave consequence and variety to Mezzotint. He produced over 400 plates, and his celebrated prints of Hannibal and Regulus, after the picture by Mr. West in the Royal Collection, were the first plates of equal magnitude and importance that had appeared. He engraved altogether 16 historical subjects—some scriptural and some classical—after Mr. West, the celebrated American painter, who succeeded Sir Joshua Reynolds as President of the Royal Academy. Mr. West's pictures of the Battle of La Hogue, Christ healing in the Temple, and The death of Nelson, are more or less famous.

Valentine Green wrote a History of Worcester, the frontispiece of which is an engraving of himself by James Fittler. In 1798 the Duke of Bavaria allowed him to engrave and publish the collection of 24 plates of the Düsseldorf Gallery.

A son of Green named Rupert was known as the "Dramatic Infant." He was

born in 1768, and at the age of 9 published a tragedy, entitled "*The Secret Plot.*" In spite of this he lived to the age of 36.

The Rev. George Miller says, "Roman remains have been found in the parish, consisting of an urn and some pottery, together with some spear heads." The writer in White's Warwickshire, writing in 1874, says, "Some time ago on the farm of Mr. "Joseph Chattaway, of Park Hall, a pair of fossil Elk's horns, with a large molar "tooth said to have belonged to a Pachyderm, and numerous bones of terrestrial "animals were found about 12 feet below the surface, in the deluvium, and lying "beneath a bed of gravel abounding with marine remains—of the characteristic fossils "of the lias (to which formation the parish belongs) such as Ammonites, Belemnites, "the Gryphœa incurva, the Terebratula speciosa, the Terebratula Wilsoni, pentagonal "Encrinites, and the Belemnites hastatus, which had evidently been derived from the "detrition of the limestone rocks, being more *perfect* in the neighbourhood of the "rocks, and more *broken and worn* at a distance."

"The workmen also came to what seemed to have been an ancient ditch, which "had been filled up and covered over with a regular stratum of clay of a considerable "thickness, the accumulation of many years, and embedded in the ditch they found a "Roman urn containing a dark coloured mould. Traces of the Roman occupation "have been discovered on the banks of the Arrow, broken pieces of pottery and spear "heads, ancient monuments, and a few coins having been dug up." But Bloxam (in "1875) says, "It is very remarkable that we *never* find any Roman arms or weapons; "or at least such discoveries are of extreme rarity. And I know not of any such in "the county. . . . An Anglo-Saxon interment of interest was found some years "ago near Alcester, and some remains in an Anglo-Saxon cemetery in Bidford."

I have not been able to find out what became of the Elk's Horns, bones, &c. which are said to have been discovered.

Notes on the Old Houses in Stratford-upon-Avon.

By W. SALT BRASSINGTON, F.S.A.

November 16th, 1898.

I WAS led to the choice of my subject by the fact that though there are yet remaining many old houses in Stratford, the number is diminishing yearly. Each year brings about the destruction of a portion, if not the whole, of an ancient building, so that in the course of the next generation or two the greater part of the town will present a modern appearance. I was going to say the town would be rebuilt; perhaps that is too strong an assertion, but unless some measures are taken to preserve the ancient character of the buildings, Stratford will lose the quaint old-world appearance so dear to artists and antiquaries, so highly appreciated by American and Colonial visitors.

To me it seems to be a sacred duty to preserve the ancient characteristics of Stratford. This duty has been recognised by the people of Chester in the case of their ancient city, and although the critical eyes of an antiquary may detect archæological anachronisms in the new work it accords sufficiently with the old, and at least is in harmony with its surroundings.

The desire to preserve the ancient character of this Warwickshire town is not mere sentiment. I am sure I am right in saying that in a great measure the commercial prosperity of this particular place depends upon the maintenance of its ancient appearance.

Thousands of visitors are attracted to Stratford by the fame of its picturesque streets and beautiful surroundings, no less than by the association of the town with the name of the world's poet, William Shakespeare.

During the past hundred years it has been customary to plaster over the fronts of the old timber-frame houses. In this way High Street has assumed the outward garb of a modern street. One has, however, only to look up some of the narrow passages which form a feature in most old towns, especially so here, to become aware that the old houses still stand behind their new looking fronts. The modern appearance of Stratford is, to a certain extent, temporary, many of the old houses have not yet been destroyed, but only effaced by covers of brick and plaster.

In some places the plaster has been removed with most satisfactory results, as in the case of the Guildhall, Grammar School, and the Five Gables; but in certain cases I am ready to admit that it is a mistake to remove plaster mellow with age and undoubtedly a protection to the building. It is quite probable that some of the older walls of the church were plastered both without and within. It was a mistake to remove the plaster in that instance, because it formed part of the original construction.

Two points seem to me to require attention from those who love Stratford, and desire to see it retain its old beauty.

1. That nothing worth preservation be destroyed.
2. That good features now hidden be again brought to light.

The Corporation, who are large property owners in the town, have done their best of late years to conserve some of the old houses belonging to them, as successors of the Guild of the Holy Cross, and other Charities. Nevertheless, much remains to be done.

Having raised a few points for discussion, I will pass from general principles to less controvertible ground, and speak of the town as it now stands. If you ask any old Stratford man about his town he will tell you that it consists of two parts, the Old Town and the Borough; that the Old Town extended along the river bank to the south of the Church, where the East and West Railway passes across the meadows; that the Church stood nearly in the centre of the town, and so on.

This tradition is doubtless true, and refers to a town, the greater part of which was held by the Bishop of Worcester at the time of the Conqueror. The houses were probably wooden with not a few cottages whose walls were built of a composition of lime and earth, commonly called "Mud walls." Two cottages on the Evesham Road, and a shed near the Great Western Station, are the only remaining buildings of this kind in Stratford.

Buildings of the 13th, 14th, and 15th century are comparatively rare, though portions of older work are yet incorporated in buildings of later date.

Undoubted specimens of hall and solar are rare indeed, but the pedagogue's house may be one, and Avon Croft another. A small portion of a third may possibly be incorporated in one of the cottages in Waterside. In the course of centuries the

community which had gathered about the Church obtained rights and privileges, and then, as their possessions were secured to them they built more substantial houses.

In the reign of Richard I., John de Constantiis, Bishop of Worcester, obtained a royal charter dated January 25, 1197, for a market to be held in this town on Thursday in every week; and immediately afterward the Bishop settled upon his burgesses of Stratford the inheritance of their burgages. Other grants and charters followed during the 13th century. The Guild established at an early, though unknown, date, increased in wealth; benefactors gave houses and lands to it. These marks of prosperity point to the town being of some importance, and the houses were probably in accord with the prosperous condition of the people.

In the town as then planned, the streets are wide; and there are no very narrow lanes, though numerous passages lead from street to street. Besides the market place at the junction of High Street and Bridge Street, there was the large Rother Market for horned cattle higher up the town. There were market crosses at both these points.

The street names point to the industries of the place, and prove that it was a centre for the sale of country produce, and that certain manufactures in connection therewith were carried on in the town. The fullers or "walkers" had a street to themselves (now Waterside). A street from the Rother Market to High Street was named "Swine Street," and it was continued to the Bank Croft (now Bancroft) under the name of Sheep Street.

The earliest rental preserved among the Corporation records is assigned by Mr. Richard Savage in an interesting paper, read before the Shakespeare Club in 1898, to the year 1309—10, and contains the following street names, "Heystrete, "Shepustrete, Corne Strete (since 1480 called Chapel St.), Tynkyreslone (the present "Scholars lane), Churchestrete, Swyne strete (the present Ely Street, first mentioned "as Ilystrete in 1480) Merestrete, Raton rewe, Millone, Greenhul strete, Hel lone "(present Windsor St.), Henly strete and Brugestrete." The names of several other streets are also recorded in the 14th century.

As to the trades practised in Stratford in the Middle ages, the records furnish ample proof. There were skinners, coopers, whitesmiths, dyers, tanners, mercers, potters, wheelwrights, ironworkers, tailors, walkers or fellers, bakers, brewers, barbers, shoemakers, butchers, salters, weavers, and very many more.

Now if we compare the names of some of the streets and the occupations of the people with similar lists of old Birmingham streets and occupations, we shall find a striking resemblance between the two towns.

If we wish to know the population of the town we have a guide in the return of the Commissioners at the time of the Reformation. It was then certified that there were 1,500 housling people, *i.e.* communicants; consequently the whole population could not have been far short of 7,000 people. It is now under 10,000. The communicants in Warwick at the same period, were about 1,200.

Timber entered largely into the construction of old houses at Stratford. A house of an ordinary type had stone foundations, usually of local Wilmcote limestone. Upon the foundation walls rested the horizontal timbers, into which uprights were morticed. These usually reached either to the roof, or in the case of overhanging buildings, to the next floor, where they were again morticed into horizontal beams.

The timber frame-work is of two distinct kinds.

1. Where the main timbers enclose panels three to four feet square.

2. Where the horizontal timbers are joined by uprights placed a foot or less, usually about 11 inches apart. From observation I am inclined to think the former method was chosen for the meaner sort of building, side walls of houses, barns, outbuildings, &c., and that sometimes it was intended to be plastered over. In buildings of a better class the upright timbers were placed closer together, and instead of the interstices being filled with wicker-work, small slabs of cleft oak were sometimes fitted into grooves and plastered over.

In localities above the level of flood-water there are good cellars, with walls of local stone, usually a small square recess may be found in one side. In many houses the floors of the attics are cemented. The chimney-stacks are immense blocks of masonry, and often picturesque. There are, or were, comfortable chimney corners in the kitchen and chief living rooms of most of the old houses.

The thanks of the writer are due to Mr. Howard S. Pearson, and Mr. Potts who kindly contributed photographs to illustrate this paper.

A list of old houses of Stratford-upon-Avon, compiled in 1899, from personal observation.

There are other old houses in the town, but those mentioned in this list are undoubtedly ancient buildings

BRIDGE STREET, formerly divided into two streets by "Middle Row," a line of old cottages removed in 1854.

NORTH SIDE.

The Red Horse Hotel. An ancient house very much altered, except the cellars. The traditional head quarters of Prince Rupert in 1643, and since made famous by Washington Irving, who stayed there and described it in "The "Sketchbook." The outer walls are plastered. View taken about 1810 in Birthplace Collection.

The Golden Lion Hotel. An ancient house known as "The Peacock" in Queen Elizabeth's days. Altered considerably but retains its gables fronting the street. The outer walls are plastered, and the original curved outlines of the gables have been straightened.

No. 20.—(The property of the Corporation of Stratford-upon-Avon. Present tenant, Mr. Parkhouse.)

A timber-built house, two gables fronting the street, overhanging upper stories; three stories high; perpendicular timbers about eleven inches apart; fine oak staircase. Upon a great chimney stack in the centre of the house there used to be a stone with the date 1574. This stone, Mr. Parkhouse informs me, was removed when the chimney was taken down. This house is a fine specimen of an Elizabethan town mansion, and proves that there were good buildings in Stratford in Shakespeare's day, and that the town was not the "mean village" described by some misguided writers.

BRIDGE STREET (SOUTH SIDE).

No. 3.—Modern front, but containing timber frames of a much older house. Chimney corner removed in 1899. Fine oak overmantle.

Nos. 6 & 7.—A large old house, with chimney corner in one of the back rooms. The front of the house has quite a modern appearance, but portions of an old house are incorporated with it.

No. 10—An ancient timber-framed cottage (taken down in 1897).

No. 15.—An ancient cottage, possibly once a portion of No. 16.

No. 16.—An old cottage with dormer windows in roof.

BRIDGETOWN.

The Clopton Bridge. On the third pier from the east end, a stone pillar decorated with the arms of the City of London, and of the Clopton Family, bears the following inscription:—"Sir Hugh Clopton, Knight, Lord Mayor of "London, built this bridge at his own proper expence, in the reign of "Henry ye Seventh." The bridge crosses the Avon from east to west, it is 376 yards in length, and about 16 feet wide, and walled in on both sides. The bridge has since been widened by means of an iron footpath affixed on the north side. There are fourteen principal arches, and five smaller ones under the causeway at the west end. Before this bridge was built there was one of timber, dangerous in flood time.

Alverston Manor. A fine Tudor manor house, built chiefly of timber with some later additions of brick. Linen-pattern carving on some of the doors. The spaces between the upright timbers are filled in with brick.

The Swan's Nest Hotel, formerly the "Shoulder of Mutton." A Hermitage endowed with lands for the reparation of the bridge is supposed to have occupied this site. The present Hotel dates from the time of Andrew Yarrington's scheme for improving the navigation of the river Avon.

The Pest House formerly stood on the east side of Shipston Road in Bridgetown.

CHAPEL STREET.

No. 1.—*Falcon Hotel.* Timber frame covered with modern plaster, overhanging upper story, lower room panelled with oak removed from New Place. Fine chimneys.

No. 2.—Top portion showing timber, lower part covered with plaster, overhanging

upper stories; the spaces between the perpendicular timber filled in with bricks, placed diagonally.

No. 5.—Modern shop built in front of the old house; brick-faced, dated

A C E

1673.

No. 6.—Timber-framed house, altered.

No. 15.—*Shakespeare Hotel.* Ancient interior, timber frame, modern front, court yard at back very picturesque.

No. 17.—*The Five Gables.* Timber-frame, five gables fronting the street, perpendicular timber filled in with stucco. The two top stories overhang each other, small top lights in rooms on first floor.

No. 21.—Brick and timber, fine Elizabethan chimney at back dated . The house was altered by Battersby & Morris in the 18th century, and was originally the residence of Julius Shaw, 1597.

No. 20.—Timber-frame, overhanging upper story, covered with stucco, re-fronted about 1652. Occupied by John Tomlins in 1599.

New Place. Formerly the house of the Nash family, and adjoining Shakespeare's "New Place." A modern brick front has been added, but much of the ancient timber frame-work exists, and the gable end of the south side is almost perfect. The whole of the ancient New Place appears to have been demolished by the Cloptons very early in the 18th century.

CHURCH STREET.

The College of the Holy Trinity. An early 18th century building, altered by Dr. Collis in 1870. Fine hall and oak staircase; several rooms panelled.

Mason Croft. An ancient house, with fine oak panelled room. House re-constructed in 18th century. In the garden are a belvidere and a gateway of graceful proportions.

No. 7.—*Outbuildings of Mason Croft.* Brick and timber frames, very small dormer windows in the roof. Was this the building used as a school by the Guild in 1416? See Guild accounts. Building demolished June, 1899.

Nos. 8 & 9.—Brick and timber construction, front re-faced, chimney corner, top room cement floor, beam supporting ceiling of lower room chamfered.

Nos. 10 to 15.—Old cottages re-faced with brick and much altered.

No. 16.—Elizabethan or Jacobean mansion, considerably altered, but retaining some of the ancient timbers and a very fine oak staircase.

Grammar School. Anciently the Hall of the Guild of the Holy Cross, restored or rebuilt in 1417, perpendicular timbers, overhanging upper story. Restored 1892.

The Almshouses. Timber-frame, front perpendicular timbers, apparently 15th century, and plastered over in the 19th century, overhanging upper story. Three houses restored by Alderman J. J. Nason, 1887—8.

No. 21.—*Windmill Inn.* Ancient timber-frame house, brick front, dormer windows.

No. 22.—Timber-frame cottages, modern brick front.

Nos. 24 to 30.—Timber-frame cottages, modern brick fronts (No. 25 timbers exposed).

ELY STREET.

No. 14.—*The Rose Inn.* Timber-frame, faced with brick.

No. 26.—*Ely Place.* Partly timber-frame, re-constructed and faced with brick.

No. 27.—Timber-framed cottage, wattle in gable exposed.

No. 29.—Timber and brick, timbers exposed in front of cottage.

Nos. 30 to 35.—A row of timber-frame cottages, faced with brick.

No. 50.—Cottage, with timber exposed at front.

Two large timber-frame buildings (barns?) at end of street near High Street, on the north side.

GREENHILL STREET.

Nos. 9, 10, 11.—Timber-framed houses, faced with brick.

No. 13.—*Garrick Court.* Timber-framed house, front faced with brick.

No. 15.—Timber-frame cottage.

No. 23.—*Old Thatch Tavern.* Overhanging, timber-framed.

No. 30.—Timber-frame cottage, faced with brick.

No. 31.—Timber-frame cottage, front brick, side original timber, framework filled in with wattle and daub.

HENLEY STREET.

No. 27.—Timber-framed, faced with brick, timbers on side of house exposed.

No. 37.—Timber showing at side of house.

Shakespeare's Birthplace. This is an early Tudor building. The cellars are ancient, and have undergone but little alteration. The whole of the house above ground has been very carefully restored, but much of the old oak framework remains, and parts decayed have been renewed. A beam extending along the front of the house enabled the architect to determine the position of such of the original upright timbers as had been destroyed.

HIGH STREET.

No. 1.—Records of this house date back to the 14th century. It was at one time "The Cadge," or town prison. The property of the Guild of the Holy Cross, and at a later period the home of Judith Shakespeare. It has a front covered with modern cement, which hides the high pitched roof. Some of the main timbers are still in situ. The cellars are of massive construction, with stone walls of great thickness, and an original oak ceiling remains in the cellar under the shop.

No. 10.—Brick and timber house, re-constructed.

Nos. 17, 18, 19, & 20.—Timber-framed, covered with plaster, overhanging upper story.

No. 21.—Timber-framed house, covered with stucco, overhanging upper story, two gables fronting street.

Nos. 23 & 24.—These timber-framed houses are handsomely decorated with carved timbers, now covered with smooth plaster, overhanging upper story.

No. 25.—*Garrick Inn.* Fronted with brick, interior ancient timber.

No. 26.—Timber-framed, fine specimen of carved timber. In the front are the initials and date, "T. R., 1596, A. R.," for Thomas and Alice Rogers, by whom the house was built in that year. It is called the Harvard House, because the mother of the famous John Harvard, of Harvard College, was born here.

MEER STREET.

Nos. 13 & 14.—Timber-framed buildings restored, bricks between the upright timbers.

OLD TOWN.

Nos. 3 & 4.—A timber-framed cottage forms a portion of this house.

No. 13.—*Hall's Croft.* Timber framed house plastered over, handsome oak staircase and panelled rooms. This is said to be the house in which lived Dr. Hall and his wife Susanna, daughter of William Shakespeare.

Old Town Room. Timber-framed, timber exposed at back, panels filled in with brick, front rough cast plaster, open timber roof.

Avon Croft. Timber frame-work of several periods. The western portion apparently was a hall with open timber roof.

Elmhurst. Site of the ancient College of Stratford, founded by Ralf de Stratford, 1353. Portions of stone walls remaining.

Avonbank. In the grounds of this mansion formerly stood the old house of St. Mary, occupied in the 15th century by the Schoolmaster of the Guild. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth it belonged to Thomas Green, the poet's cousin, and according to Langbane, *Ed.* 1698–9, Shakespeare wrote the Ghost Scene in *Hamlet* while living here. The house of St. Mary adjoined the churchyard, and its east wing extended to the river. Two of the carved timbers of a doorway of this building are preserved at Shakespeare's Birthplace.

ROTHER STREET.

Nos. 2, 3, 4.—*Mason Court.* Timber-framed houses, portions filled in with wattle and daub. The two ends of this building project, and the roof between them is brought forward and supported by two braces of timber.

Nos. 11 & 12.—Timber-frame cottages.

No. 17.—*Prince of Wales Inn.* Timber-frame, overhanging in front, plastered, timber exposed at side of house.

Nos. 24 & 25.—*White Swan Inn.* Ancient timber and brick building.
No. 32.—Showing timber side of house, brick front.
No. 33.—Timber-framed, timbers exposed.
No. 41.—Timber-framed, plastered.
No. 42.—Timber-framed, plastered.

SHEEP STREET.

No. 2.—*Municipal Offices.* Timber-framed, perpendicular timbers restored.
Nos. 10, 11, 12.—Timber-framed, in panels, now filled in with cement.
Nos. 21 & 23.—Timber-framed, brick faced.
No. 24.—Timber-framed, overhanging upper story, plastered over.
No. 31.—Timber-framed, perpendicular timber.
No. 40.—Timber-framed, covered with stucco.
Nos. 42 & 43.—*Sidney Court.* Timber-framed, covered with cement, a very good example of a 16th century house, now, 1899, about to be repaired.

WATER SIDE.

No. 43.—This house is on the site of an ancient timber-framed house, cellar walls are built of tiles. Mediæval or possibly Roman.
No. 25.—Timber-framed house, wind-braced roof; possibly an open hall, no timbers visible from the outside.
No. 54.—*Black Swan.* Very ancient timber-frame work, front re-built.
No. 55.—Probably portion of No. 54, stone front, apparently re-built about 1660. A grate back taken from this house is dated 1660, now at No. 1, High Street.
No. 62.—*Avon Side.* Barns adjoining this house of ancient timber construction.

WINDSOR STREET.

No. 21.—Timber-framed and brick, converted into business premises, very little timber showing at front, more exposed at gable and side. These are extremely large timbers.
No. 27.—Timber and brick.
Nos. 28, 29, 30.—These are all timber-framed, some timber showing at side of house in entry, but fronts modernized.

WOOD STREET.

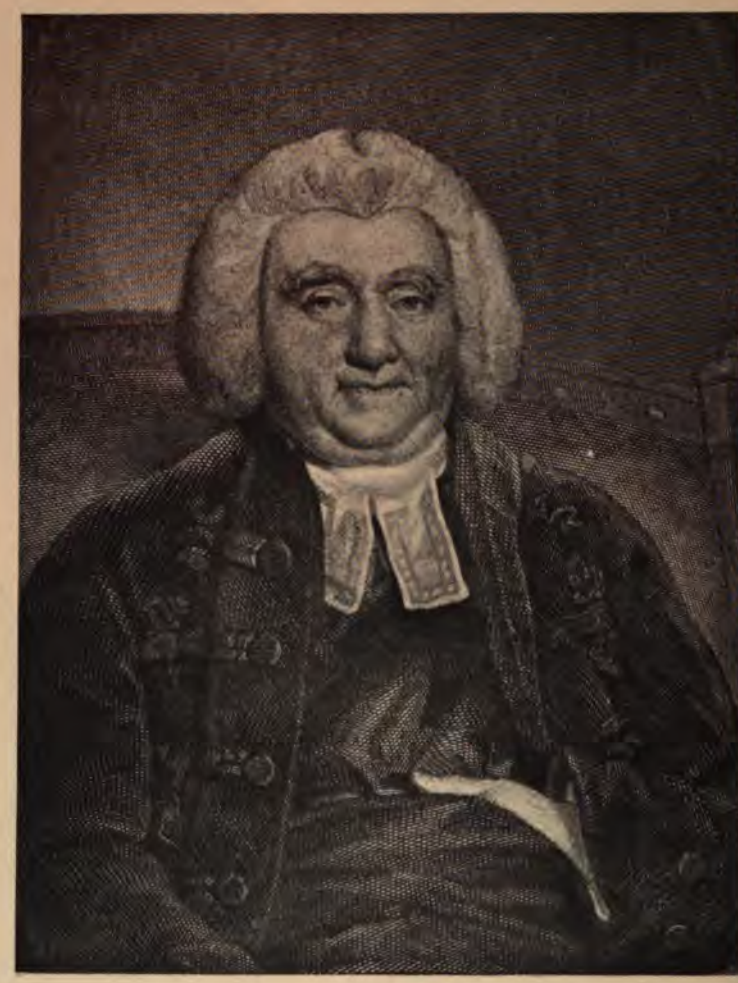
Nos. 2 & 10.—Timber-framed houses, brick fronts.
Nos. 26, 27, 28.—Timber-framed houses, faced with brick, timber exposed at back. 28, timber front repaired.
No. 38.—An old timber-framed house, now rebuilt (1898-9).
No. 44.—Timber-framed, faced with brick, timbers showing at side of house.
No. 47.—Timber framed, handsome Elizabethan brick gable, timbers exposed at back. The front is a good specimen of ancient brickwork.

No. 31, GREENHILL STREET.

CHURCH STREET, BACK OF Nos. 9 and 10.

CORNER OF ROTHER STREET & ELY STREET.

IN THE UPPER STORY, No. 1, HIGH STREET.



REV. SAMUEL PARR, LL.D.

(From the portrait by John James Halls, 1813.)

Dr. Samuel Parr, of Hatton:

A Warwickshire Worthy.

1747–1825.

. . . . . Nil fuit unquam
Sic im—PAR sibi . . . . .
Horace Sat. I. iii. 18.

BY SHOWELL ROGERS, M.A., LL.D.

ALTHOUGH the subject of this paper made a considerable figure in the world of his time, he has now almost passed out of remembrance, and probably there are few to whom he is more than a name. Indeed ever since my subject was announced I have been beset by the question: "And who was this Dr. Parr"? De Quincey, writing some three-quarters of a century ago, even then said, "at this moment it may be questioned whether one reader in 3,000 belonging to this generation is likely to be aware who the Doctor was, or upon what pretensions rest his claims to commemoration." Most people still confound him with that Parr whose sole claim to fame is that having lived in the 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries, during the reigns of no fewer than ten kings and queens, and having at the age of 100 done penance in a white sheet in church for immorality, he died in the reign of Charles II., at the age of 152, leaving a name which has become immortal mainly from the fact that an enterprising quack seized upon it to push the nostrum still known as "Old Parr's Life Pills." But the Parr with whom we are concerned, is that pedagogue, parson, politician, pedant, and pamphleteer who lived in the reign of the last three Georges.

Some of his admirers, writing just after his death, expressed themselves with

an audacity of eulogy that should, warn prophets similarly disposed. And yet a very few years passed before Isaac Disraeli, now some half century since, was constrained to write "and now his collected writings lie before us, volumes unsaleable and unread." This refers to the bulky eight volume edition (1828) of Parr's Works by his executor John Johnstone, M.D., and Disraeli's observation is even truer to-day than when he made it a half century ago, despite Johnstone's bracketing of Parr with Socrates, and his fatuous remark that the Doctor's "treatises "on Benevolence, on Education, on Faith, and Morals, will survive, when the writings "of the Scaligers, the Casaubons, and the Stephenses shall be sunk in oblivion." This seriously intended criticism bears an amusing resemblance to the witty *double entendre* which Porson addressed to a minor poet who presented him with a poor poem called "Calvary": "Your poem will be read and admired when Milton and Shakespeare shall be forgotten." I lately picked up Johnstone's edition of Parr's works on the outside shelf of a Birmingham second-hand book shop marked "8 vols. 3/6, published at £4 4s. 0d." I had passed it day after day for some six weeks, during which it got more and more blistered by sun and rain, until I at last took compassion on it, and not without some compunctions as to whether I was justified in expecting my friend the bookseller to send home so much for so little, I bought it.

De Quincey, in his famous essay on Dr. Parr, with its sub-acid sub-title "Whiggism and its relations to Literature"—which, though somewhat jaundiced by the writer's high Tory prejudices, nevertheless contains, as Mr. Leslie Stephen points out, one of his best criticisms—makes merry over these "eight enormous tomes," and totals them up to 5,734 octavo pages, many of them printed in a small type, adding that if all Dr. Parr's Works had been included in this edition the whole would be little short of 7,000 pages! And yet, as he remarks, with all these works Dr. Parr cannot be said to have left behind him a single *work* of any vital or permanent importance.

I do not propose to attempt in this paper anything like an orderly sketch of Parr's life, much less a biography or criticism of his writings; but bearing in mind that this is an Archæological rather than a Literary Society, it occurred to me that an account of Parr dealing more especially with local and personal matters would be more to the point. I shall touch hardly at all on his numerous literary efforts and quarrels that went to make up so large a part of his Works, and on which he expended so much erudition and energy which had far better have been employed in producing some monumental work by which he might have become famous. As it is, his collected works may perhaps be more properly described as pyramidal than monumental, and it is hardly too much to say that he to quarrels gave up what was meant for mankind.

My task has not been an altogether easy one, as his formal biographers, and various admirers who have written expressly about him, seem one and all to have had an unconquerable aversion to an index.

Parr's family traced their descent to Sir Thomas, the great-grandfather of Catherine Parr, the sixth wife of Henry VIII., whose enduring fame, as every school-boy knows, is mainly due to the fact that she managed to survive him. The father of the subject of this paper was an apothecary and surgeon at Harrow; and there in January, 1747 (O.S.), his only son, the future Dr. Samuel Parr was born. His memory, which was always prodigious, must in infancy have been abnormally precocious withal, if it be true, as he afterwards declared that he could remember being suckled by his mother. This infant phenomenon at the breast, soon became a scholar in small clothes; for we find that his father taught him Latin when he was 4 years old, and at the early age of 5 he was sent to Harrow School, and placed under the Rev. Dr. Thackeray, the great-grandfather of the novelist. He was an old child in appearance as well as in demeanour, so much so that his friend and school-fellow, Sir Wm. Jones, the eminent scholar, orientalist, and lawyer, used to tell him that "if he had the good luck to live 40 years he might stand a chance of overtaking his face." Before he had completed his 14th year, he was the head boy of Harrow School. His father then removed him, and by way of preparation for the medical profession for which he was destined, placed him in his own surgery, where he acquired a certain amount of medical knowledge which in after life he found of service to his Hatton parishioners. But he detested the practice of medicine and was shocked by operations. Several anecdotes are told that show his hatred of the whole business; and how his heart lay in the study rather than in the surgery.

Being called one day from some more congenial pursuit to compound medicine in the surgery, he, by way of revenge, vigorously criticized a grammatical error which his father had perpetrated in a Latin prescription, and thereby drew down upon his devoted head the curt parental reproof, "Sam.! damn the prescription, make up the medicine." However, the long-suffering father at last gave in, and with a view to his son exchanging medicine for divinity, sent him in the October term of 1765, at the age of 18, to Emanuel College, Cambridge. Unhappily his father died the following January, and left so little behind him that Samuel, after he had been in residence at the University only 14 months, was forced to leave Cambridge without taking a degree. Dr. Sumner, who had succeeded Thackeray as head master of Harrow, thereupon offered Parr, and he accepted, the post of first assistant master at his old school, where by the way one of the pupils under his tuition had been Richard Brinsley Sheridan; and a year or two later he took holy orders. In 1771, when Parr was only in his 25th year, Sumner died suddenly and Parr determined to offer himself as a candidate for the head mastership. He had already acquired the reputation of being a remarkable young man, not only at Emanuel College, but at Cambridge generally, and by the aid of the Duke of Grafton, then Chancellor of the University, and the several heads of Houses, he qualified himself for the candidature by obtaining a grant of the degree of M.A. *per regias literas.* But the School Governors nevertheless elected the Rev. Benjamin Heath, an Eton Master. Parr's youth was the ostensible reason given for his rejection, though we have seen that he by nature looked much

older than his years, and he had moreover on this occasion, for the first time, artificially added to the natural effect by covering his head with what his biographer Field picturesquely describes as "that large obumbrating wig, which has so often been held up to public notice, and sometimes to public ridicule." On the same occasion, we are told, he assumed the dress and manners of an elderly ecclesiastic, so that he made himself look some ten or fifteen years older than he really was.

The electing Governors may well have been displeased at this portentous mumming. Parr himself says that the real ground was not only their "suspicion that my "independent spirit would lead me to govern the school according to my own "notions," but also because he had voted for John Wilkes at the Middlesex Election at Brentford. It may well be that this was also an operating cause. If so, it was the first but by no means the last time that Parr's pronounced and even militant Whiggism shut him out from high preferment. If it lost him a head-mastership in early life, it is equally certain that it kept him out of a bishopric to the day of his death.

Too proud to serve any longer where he wished to reign, Parr resigned his Harrow mastership and set up a rival establishment at Stanmore in the immediate neighbourhood. He must have met with a good deal of support, for it appears that some 50 or 60 Harrow boys seceded with him—at that time a fifth or more of the whole school. In 1771, a month after the school was started, he married for his first wife, a Miss Marsengale. He married her, it has been said, because *he* wanted a housekeeper, and she him because *she* wanted a house. She was an only child, bred up by three maiden aunts, as she said herself, "in rigidity and frigidity." We are told that she lost few opportunities of vexing her husband, made a point of exposing his foibles and ridiculing his peculiarities in the presence of others, and had a sharp temper and an equally sharp tongue. She spared him little of its causticity and as a specimen I may say that she described him as "born in a whirlwind and bred a tyrant." This is probably something more than mere abuse, and is a galling reference to hereditarily transmitted faults, for I find that Parr's own biographer describes Parr's father as "the petty tyrant of his fireside, but an honest well-meaning "Tory." There was no open rupture between Parr and his wife, but such an incompatibility of temperament as well as of temper as in more ways than one, marred seriously their lives as husband and wife. (1) But there is a comical side even to this. De Quincey furnishes an anecdote which shows how Parr could on occasion while giving full vent to his uncontrollable irascibility at the same time exhibit a measure of self-restraint that was pregnant with savage meaning. "On one occa-"sion," says De Quincey, "rising up from table in the middle of a fierce discussion "with Mrs. Parr, he took a carving knife, and applying it to a portrait of that lady, "hanging on the wall, he drew it sharply across the jugular, and cut the throat of the "picture from ear the ear; thus murdering her in effigy." Was there ever so

(1) Some remarkable statements on this head will be found in an interesting letter written after Parr's death, by Jeremy Bentham to Sir John Bowring, dated 30th Jan., 1827. (See *Parriana* ii., 32-3.)

ridiculous an instance of vicarious sacrifice? The revengeful childishness of this act, akin to that of a savage who sticks pins in his fetich or into his domestic deities to punish them if they displease him, was not uncharacteristic of its perpetrator.

Parr's drawing room at Hatton was hung round with numerous portraits of literary celebrities. When Burke, who at one time was one of Parr's greatest heroes, incurred his severe displeasure by his warning writings on the French Revolution, Parr marked his sense of his conduct by suspending his portrait on his walls with his head upside down, and after some time entirely removed it. Mr. Windham's picture was similarly treated, and for a similar reason. A third victim of the like degradation was Archdeacon Paley, who because he wrote a work called "Reasons for Contentment"—also a counterblast to revolutionary principles designed to show how much the people of these Isles had to be thankful for, under equal laws and constitutional government—had his portrait also suspended head downwards, in the Hatton drawing room. It hung there for years in that position, but clemency was afterwards shown, and it was restored to its original position.

The Stanmore school did not prosper, so Parr gave it up and accepted the mastership of the Colchester Grammar School. This too declined, and barely 12 months had elapsed before he had a serious quarrel with the trustees, and left, and then became headmaster of the Grammar School at Norwich.

In 1786, after he had been at Norwich some seven years, Lady Trafford, the mother of one of his pupils, having some time before presented him to the perpetual curacy of Hatton, he went into residence and settled down there to clerical duties, and the tuition of private pupils, as his clerical income was wholly insufficient to maintain him. There he was destined to sojourn for the remaining 40 years of his life, and there to die in the wilderness of a perpetual curacy of a Warwickshire village, instead of gaining that episcopal mitre which was his lifelong ambition, and which must often have seemed so tantalizingly near.

Before Parr left Norfolk and had even set foot in Warwickshire, it appears he was ambitious enough to expect to at once be appointed a County Magistrate there; or, as Johnstone neatly wraps it up, "he wished not merely to enjoy the country, but to be useful to the county in which he was about to reside." He accordingly took active steps to be placed in the Commission of the Peace, but without success. Some ten years afterwards, on the occasion of the appointment of a number of fresh County Justices in 1795, Parr was annoyed at his name being still omitted, and wrote a letter of expostulation to Lord Warwick, the Lord Lieutenant of the County, who, while signing himself "Your obedient, humble servant," severely snubbed him in a curt reply, simply saying, "Sir, I apprehend that the proper "answer to the letter which I have just received from you is, that I do not consider "myself as responsible to any individual for the motives of my conduct, when acting "in the discharge of any public duty." Notwithstanding his great reputation, Parr never was appointed a magistrate On his first settling in Warwickshire he was

of the High Church party, and opposed the repeal of the Test Acts. But he changed his views on this and other questions, and his pronounced Whig principles, and an unpleasant and persistent habit of letting off pamphlets and speeches on behalf of unpopular causes, doubtless made him suspect, and kept him from honour as well as from preferment. He was always at election times an active partizan against the Castle influence and party at Warwick, which he considered encroached upon the independence of the Borough, where he even obtained a vote to enable him to oppose it, though he was on terms of intimate acquaintance with many of the leading Tories of the county. There is no doubt that the notoriety of the Jacobinical principles of the parson of Hatton told against him socially, and still more politically and ecclesiastically. Indeed when Parr on one occasion wrote Lord Warwick an angry letter, complaining that he had applied the term Jacobin to him, his lordship but very faintly denied the charge, and did not appear to be very anxious about keeping on terms with the Doctor. Once when he had threatened to print a political invective he had penned against Lord Warwick, his lordship, we are told, contumeliously desired to be put down as one of the subscribers to any work which Dr. Parr might publish against him.

Parr had, at first at any rate, a poor opinion of Warwickshire as compared with Norfolk. In a letter he wrote when at Norwich to a friend in Warwickshire, he politely referred to it as "your senseless and almost worthless county." He used to say that it never was his lot to enjoy more refined social intercourse than when he lived in Norfolk, and on coming into Warwickshire he frequently, we are informed, deplored the great inferiority in point of mental culture and liberality of sentiment which struck him, and which placed our county far lower than Norfolk in the scale of intellectual and moral improvement. Warwickshire, he declared in these letters, was a "foggy atmosphere for the intellect," the "Boeotia of England," and positively two centuries behind in civilization." He used to protest that had he known of but one half the number of "boobies and bigots" he found swarming through the county, he never would have stepped within its boundaries. Poor Warwickshire! Happy Norfolk! But I wonder how they would *now* compare in his eyes if the learned Doctor could revisit the glimpses of the moon?

Hatton—or, according to Dugdale, "Heath-town," from the extensive heathy tract near it—is pleasantly situated on the brow of a hill commanding an extensive view, 2¾ miles from Warwick, on the high road to Birmingham. Field describes it as "a small retired village of few resources for the convenience of the inhabitants, and of little attraction for the eye of the traveller." It is satisfactory to know that within a few months of his settling there Parr found that it was not such an abomination of all kinds of desolation after all, for in a letter of invitation to a friend to visit him he writes, "at Hatton we have a good house, good port, good library, good company, good spirits, and good air."

Let us now visit him in his Hatton home, which Field describes as a plain, unassuming, two-storey parsonage house of brick, a short distance from the road,

from which it was separated by a small garden and a slight fence. Its modest exterior belied the ample accommodation which Parr's considerable improvements and additions provided. The principal room in the house was the library, built by Parr to receive his vast collection of books, which increased from 4,000 to over 10,000 vols. (1) It was a spacious, bright and airy room, with three sides covered with books, and its windows looking out upon the green field beyond the garden, at the end of which, and shut out from the view of the house by trees, was a further *sanctum sanctorum*, locally known as the "Lion's Den," a summer-house with a fire-place, long since pulled down. Hither he would often withdraw himself for the day, between breakfast and dinner, which was invariably served up in the library, as to a sort of *ultima Thule* of retirement, or as he used to say in Greek, "to be away from the household crowd and chatter, and the clatter of plates and dishes." But his richly stored library was naturally his favourite room. Busts of the great

HATTON VICARAGE.

(From a photograph by Dr. Alfred Miller, 1898.)

(1) They were dispersed by a sale by auction at Evans's in 1828.

scholars, Porson, Burney, and Louth adorned the mantleshelf. The Doctor's usual seat was an ordinary elbow chair, with an indifferent green cushion, placed with the back to the windows; though occasionally he used a sofa to support his leg which for years suffered from erysipelas. Close by was a tiny table with candlesticks, fuses, and his pipe, which, as we shall see, was almost a part of himself. Between the windows stood a long deal table, well supplied with a stock of ragged-edged foolscap; and under and near it were various small deal packing cases, the depositaries of confidential papers and his voluminous correspondence. He generally wrote at a round table in the middle of the room, without any kind of desk and with his paper flat on the table, which was furnished with an old and battered metal inkstand, and the stumps of pens with which few but himself could write.

His handwriting was an execrable scribble, sometimes undecipherable even by himself, and he himself described it as "a chaotic scrawl." His friend, Sir William Jones, in 1778, wrote him a candid letter on the subject, in which he lectures Parr, then over 30 years of age, as he might have done a boy at school. He describes his English and Latin as almost unreadable and his Greek characters as "wholly illegible—perfect algebra." He tells him that if he would spend but half-an-hour a day in forming his characters properly he would save four times as much of his friends' time; and he adds—in language which all bad writers would do well to remember—"I will speak with the sincerity which you like: either you can write "better or you cannot: if you can, you ought to write better, if not, you ought to "learn." But it fell like water on a duck's back, for in 1820, more than 40 years later, we find another correspondent complaining that his hieroglyphics were more mysterious than the Rosetta stone, and more inexplicable than a brick he had received from Babel; adding that Parr could not conceive what a weight he had taken off his mind by employing an amanuensis. Johnstone rightly says that of Parr's wants, an amanuensis was the most pressing next to his pipe, and he acutely suggests that if he had at the outset of his literary career engaged the services of a permanent secretary instead of depending on the casual assistance of pupils and friends, it is more than probable that he would have been induced to prosecute some great work to its termination, instead of wasting his scholarship and energy on minor writings. One of his reminiscents gives a graphic description of Parr as he found him one morning in his library calmly occupied in dictating to two amanuenses at the same time. Seated in his elbow chair in his usual morning dress, a dingy suit of brownish black, clerical stockings hanging in wrinkles, easy shoes, and a well-worn night-cap, with paper matches, a lighted candle, and ammunition —saucer of prime tobacco—upon his little table to his right, he was leaning backwards—his favourite posture—and holding his long pipe with a graceful nonchalance, a picture of intellectual tranquility. His visitor, whose entrance did not disturb him, noticed that according as one or the other amanuensis finished copying the portion dictated to him, Parr at once proceeded without pause or embarrassment to dictate further to him who was ready first. When his visitor remarked, during

an interval for pipe replenishing, upon the concentration required to thus keep up, and preserve the threads of, two different compositions, Parr replied, "Voltaire could "occupy three secretaries at the same time. I am able to cut out work for "two!" He then significantly enjoined silence by pressing his lips with his finger, and the process of dictation was resumed as before. I may mention here that at the beginning of his last illness, which continued for several weeks, Parr was by his own express desire removed from his bedchamber to his library, where a bed was put up for him; and there on 6th March, 1825, at the age of 78, he died, as every true scholar might wish to die, surrounded by his beloved books.

Dr. Parr lived at Hatton for 39 years, exactly half his life, and it is to his personality, and to his connection with Hatton and Birmingham that I must confine myself. I am indebted for not a few interesting reminiscences of Dr. Parr to Mr. John Satchell, of Handsworth, now in his 94th year, having been born in 1806. He was a former resident and Mayor of Warwick, and as a young man saw Dr. Parr on several occasions, heard him preach many times, and has talked with him. Mr. Satchell has lived during four reigns; and it has been an interesting experience to obtain information from one who was born before Pitt and Fox died, and who has conversed with a man who in his time was the friend or acquaintance of such contemporaries as Lord Holland, Lord Erskine, Lord Brougham, Burke, Fox, Romilly, Malthus, Bentham, Godwin, Moore, Byron, Sheridan, Samuel Rogers, Landor, Crabbe, Porson, Lord Jeffrey, Boswell, and Dr. Johnson.

In 1789, three years after he went to Hatton, Parr exchanged his perpetual curacy for the Rectory of Wadenhoe, in Northamptonshire, for the convenience of the rector, Dr. Bridges, viz., to enable him to accept preferment which was tenable with Hatton but not with Wadenhoe. In consideration of this obliging accommodation it was agreed that Dr. Parr should continue to reside in the Hatton parsonage, and to serve the church there. Dr. Bridges, however, as the legal incumbent of Hatton was bound to preach a certain number of sermons there annually; so it was arranged that he should officiate as the minister of Hatton for a consecutive month of six weeks of Sundays every year. Dr. Bridges once remarked to Parr somewhat unctuously that he did so because "he could not conscientiously altogether neglect "the souls of his dear people at Hatton." Parr retorted: "Nay, nay; now, Bridges, none "of that. Remember, that when you and I exchanged livings, it was a mere rascally "Jewish *truckle*, and that spiritualities had nothing to do with the business." The point is that Dr. Bridges was a strong Evangelical, while Dr. Parr was very much the reverse, and hated what he often called "rampant orthodoxy." As De Quincey observes in his highly amusing account of the matter, "Each during his own reign laboured to efface all impressions made by his rival." Bridges delivered himself during his month, and in Parr's absence, of a series of evangelical sermons, while Parr on his return spent the following Sundays in pointing out their errors to his congregation. De Quincey, in a spirit of humorous exaggeration, says that "He "congratulated his parish of Hatton that their trials were over; he performed

"classical lustrations, and Pagan rites of expiation; he circled the churchyard "nine times *withershins* (or inverting the course of the sun); he fumigated the whole "precincts of Hatton Church with shag tobacco, and left no stone unturned to "cleanse his little Warwickshire fold from its piacular pollutions." This picture, however, is not far from the reality, for Mr. Satchell tells me that he has himself heard Dr. Parr refer thus to Dr. Bridges from the pulpit: "He comes and raises "the Devil among you, and it takes me the rest of the twelve months to get rid "of him; and then he"—Dr. Bridges, I presume, *not* the Devil—"comes again."

In the autumn of 1789, Dr. Parr was invited to preach charity sermons at Coventry and Birmingham. Some of his letters to his friend the Rev. Henry Homer at this time contain a ludicrous account of his elaborate personal preparations for the Birmingham sermons and his appearance before a Birmingham audience at St. Philip's Church. We have already seen how Parr, as a young man, first set up that "obumbrating wig" of his for the purpose of aweing the Harrow Governors. From that time onwards his wig, like his pipe, came to be regarded as an important element of his individuality; and perhaps his fame rests as much on his wig and his pipe as on anything else. Sydney Smith begins his witty article in the *Edinburgh Review* (1802) on Parr's famous *Spital Sermon* by instituting a comparison between the Doctor's abnormal head-gear and his overweighted erudition. "Whoever," he says, "has had the good fortune to see Dr. Parr's wig, must have observed, that "while it trespasses a little on the orthodox magnitude of perukes in the anterior "parts, it scorns even Episcopal limits behind, and swells out into boundless "convexity of frizz, the *μέγα θαῦμα* of barbers, and the terror of the literary world. "After the manner of his wig the Doctor has constructed his sermon," and so on. Parr could be slovenly enough in his dress and appearance in the domestic circle and in ordinary social life, but on public occasions he took an almost childish delight in fine dress and pompous display. So we find him writing most anxious letters about the head-gear he was to wear as preacher of the charity sermons at Birmingham; especially as his friend Homer had given him an animated description of the respect in which magnificent perukes were held at Birmingham, which made him more than usually concerned for the solemnity of his appearance. Parr accordingly gives the most minute directions to his barber to put his "very largest wig into curl, and to fence it with *plenty* of paper," and to send it from London "safe, safe, safe in a "wooden box, by the Birmingham and Warwick Mercury Coach which passed the "Parsonage door at Hatton." Unhappily the wig got lost, apparently having been despatched by the wrong coach. Parr writes in serio-comic distraction: "Vain will "be the silken cassock, vain the swelling scarf, vain the snow-white band, vain all my "*vernacular* (1) eloquence; yea vanity of vanities will they be without a wig." He

(1) This is an allusion to Bishop Hurd's sneer at Dr. Parr's "long vernacular sermon" at Whitehall. The phrase rankled, and Parr never forgave the allusion. There is small doubt that it was to revenge it that he published his famous "Tracts by Warburton," with a Preface, which is regarded as his best specimen of English, in which he assailed Hurd unsparingly. So violent was this attack on his Diocesan of Worcester that it is said to have militated as much as anything else against Parr's getting a bishopric.

vows that he should have no heart to go through the sermon without it, nor even to make it with a polish fit for the St. Philip's congregation, who, he says, he is sure he shall not find to answer the description of his friend and amanuensis John Bartlam, as "a bunting, beggarly, brass-making, brazen-faced, brazen-hearted, blackguard, bustling, booby, Birmingham mob."

Luckily the wig turned up just as Parr was setting off from Hatton on the Saturday. But his troubles with it did not end here, as we learn from a letter from Bartlam to Homer containing a graphic account of their Birmingham expedition. They dined on the Saturday they arrived in Birmingham with "a Mr. Brook, a "very worthy, pleasant and sensible man, and one of the learned profession of the "law," and supped at Mr. Homer's house, in New Hall Street, where Dr. Parr slept during his stay in Birmingham. "On the ensuing morning," says Bartlam, "the "Doctor was to preach at St. Martin's, the old church, and the arrangements for the "sermon were quite superb in decoration, and quite flaming in orthodoxy; when lo! to "our sorrow, to our surprise and vexation, that which was to give the closing dignity "of appearance and air of solemnity to the whole, was spoiled by the tastelessness, "clumsiness, and ignorance of a Birmingham barber. The top of the wig, which "ought to have been smoothed down with uncommon exactness, and rounded with "the nicest precision, was by the rude hands of this execrable dunce, deformed and "ruffled like unto the feathers of an enraged hen." He adds that there was not to be found in the whole town of Birmingham a barber competent to dress "this most mighty adjunct of theology"; for such a wig had never even been seen by them before, though there lingered a tradition in the town of a peruke, which once belonged to a Mr. Newling, a parson, of about half the size of the Doctor's, and which was known to have employed a barber for the space of three whole days to prepare it for Sunday. Bartlam professes that he felt apprehension lest one untoward result of this tonsorial fiasco should be to intensify the local prejudice which already existed against Parr by reason of "the narrowness and bigotry of the Methodists, and "the mischievous cunniug and unsparing rancour of the Priestleian sect." It is the "more gratifying, therefore, to learn that "the uncommon eloquence of the compo-"sition, as well as the matchless propriety of the sentiments, equally mortified their "infernal malevolence, and disappointed their prying activity." It seems, however, that the verdict of the Birmingham audience on the afternoon sermon was less favourable, because Dr. Parr, although he severely trounced the opinions, and loudly condemned the spirit of Dr. Priestley's controversial writings, so bitterly opposed by the Established Church, nevertheless paid him a sincere tribute of commendation for two sermons he had written upon the nature of benevolence which Dr. Parr earnestly recommended to his audience. This commendation, we are told, gave great offence. The Methodists clamoured against it as "a rank Presbyterian sermon"; whilst the very name of the arch-heretic Priestley was poison to the orthodox ears of the congregation who heard it. One of them in the vestry, immediately after the sermon, even ventured to expostulate with the preacher, on

the ground that though the sermons of Priestley, which he had recommended, might be good Christianity, their author was an enemy to the Church, and ought therefore never to be so much as named within its sacred precincts. Parr heard his objector out and then calmly replied, "Sir, you are the best vindicator of *Churchianity* I ever knew!"

Up to this time Parr had never met Priestley, and he did not make his personal acquaintance until the following year, 1790, at a dinner given at Warwick to celebrate the ordination of his friend—afterwards his biographer—the Rev. William Field, as minister of the Unitarian Chapel, High Street, Warwick.

We have seen how stoutly Parr could oppose Priestley on theological grounds: but, broad-minded Churchman as he was, he equally vigorously defended himself for his intimacy with him such as it was. "I am," he says, "at a loss to see why a "clergyman of the Church of England should shun the presence of a dissenting "minister, merely because they do not agree on doctrinal points, which have long "divided the Christian world; and indeed I have always found that when men "of sense and virtue mingle in conversation, the harsh and confused suspicions which "they entertained of each other, gave way to more just and candid sentiments."

Liberal, commonsense and almost commonplace as such opinions seem to-day it was far otherwise a hundred years ago; and Parr's association with Priestley was likely within a year of his making his acquaintance to have cost him dear. In the summer of 1791 the Priestley riots broke out, when Priestley's house and valuable library and philosophical instruments, and the houses of Hutton, Baskerville and other prominent Dissenters in the town, as well as the New Meeting and other meeting houses, were ruthlessly destroyed by the Birmingham incendiaries. The provocative cause, or at any rate the ostensible pretext, for these outrages by the "Church and King" party, who should have set the example of law and order, was a meeting held by the Birmingham Dissenters to commemorate the French Revolution. The mob hearing that Dr. Parr had been visiting Dr. Priestley, threatened to march the 16 miles to Hatton and burn his parsonage and library. For three days and three nights Parr's family were, to use his own words, "agitated with consternation and dismay." Parr was absent, and Mrs. Parr had the library removed out of danger. The books were at first hastily huddled together in a barn near Hatton, and afterwards sent to Magdalen College, Oxford, where the packages were piled up in the principal but disused gateway of the College, by the permission of the Principal, Dr. Routh. An expense of nearly £100 was incurred in this removal, and much injury was done to the books. Fortunately, before the mob could accomplish their purpose, the military, who had been called out, put an end to their proceedings. No wonder that Parr indignantly exclaims: "Was it "for this"—that is, merely his acquaintance with Dr. Priestley—"that my books "that I have long been collecting with indefatigable industry, upon which I have "expended more than half the produce of more than 20 years unwearied labour,

"and which I considered as the pride of my youth, the employment of my riper "age, and perhaps the best solace of declining life; was it for this I say that my "very books were exposed to most unexpected, most unmerited destruction? In "what age, or in what country do I live?"—and much more in the same strain. "Church and King" was the watch-word or war-cry of the mob during the Priestley riots, and it was at one time the favourite boast of the High Church party. What wonder that Parr at a public dinner exclaimed: "I will not drink that toast nor "will I suffer it to be given in my presence. It was the toast of Jacobites, and it "is the yell of incendiaries; it means a Church *without* the Gospel, and a King *above* "the Law!"

The promoters of the commemoration dinner were of opinion that the dinner was not the real cause of the riots, which they believed to have been deliberately planned in a Machiavellian fashion, to show by a salutary example to what horrors revolutionary principles must lead. The same thing was plainly said in the House of Commons a few years later, when, in 1795, when Fox was opposing the renewal of the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act as an unnecessary and an alarmist proceeding, he significantly pointed out that "since the epoch of the French Revolution there had been no actual insurrection in the Kingdom, save that in which the zeal for Church and King had actually exerted itself in burning the houses of the dissenters in Birmingham."(1)

The Birmingham reformers accordingly resolved in 1792—the year following the Riots—to have a second dinner, again to celebrate the fall of the Bastille, and to show their fellow-citizens and the Government that they had been calumniated on the former occasion. No wonder that Parr, who, though he had not been actually burnt, had so to speak, been near enough to singeing to make him dread fire, became alarmed at this proposal, and as soon as ever he heard of it he set to work and penned a shilling pamphlet entitled "*A Letter from Irenopolis to the Inhabitants of Eleuther-* "*opolis; or A serious Address to the Dissenters of Birmingham. By a Member of the* "*Established Church.*" *(1792).* Irenopolis, or Peacetown, of course stands for Hatton, as Eleutheropolis or Freetown signifies Birmingham. In this remonstrance, as seasonable as it was reasonable, Parr endeavoured to moderate the party differences in politics and religion, by leading both sides to reflect that the principles on which they were agreed both outnumbered and outweighed those on which they differed. He therefore solemnly exhorted his addressees to refrain from any proceedings which might tend to disturb the public tranquility. Parr threw off this lengthy, though lucid, sound and vigorous pamphlet at white heat. Though it cost him but six and a half hours' work, done at two sittings in one day, it has with good reason been described as "the best, the calmest, the finest, of all Dr. Parr's literary productions; and the most approved by all sober thinkers." The circumstances in which it was written prevented it from being overloaded with erudition and quotation and that pompous

(1) Parr's favourite toast at this time was, "Qui suspenderunt suspendantur!" Another, referring to two other measures, which he regarded as equally obnoxious to liberty, was "Bills for the necks of the authors of the two Bills!"

phrase-mongering in which he was too apt to indulge in his set compositions. What is better than all, this timely *eirenicon* effectually served the peaceful purpose for which it was designed.

The *Letter from Irenopolis* was published in May, 1792. In the previous January Parr had indulged in a pamphleteering escapade, also connected with the Birmingham Riots question, that had less excuse in its origin and brought him less credit in its performance. It arose out of a dispute with a neighbouring clergyman, the Rev. Charles Curtis, Vicar of Solihull, and also Rector of St. Martin's, Birmingham, a brother of Sir William Curtis, a well-known Alderman and Member of Parliament for London. Parr at this time was being privately traduced as a Jacobin, and publicly attacked as a disloyal subject in newspapers, and other publications of the day. The Rector of Birmingham was a bitter adherent of the "Church and King" party, and it is certain that once at least in Parr's presence, and once in his absence, he had uttered some offensive expressions concerning him. About this time Parr received two anonymous and abusive letters. There is a strong reason for believing that these were a practical joke of Parr's own pupils, written in order to "draw" him. Instead of calmly ignoring these epistolary squibs, as he could well have afforded to do, he at once suspected the Rev. Mr. Curtis, who, not content with positively and solemnly, and in Parr's presence, denying both their authorship and his knowledge of their author, somewhat needlessly wrote and circulated a paper on the subject contradicting the charge. Parr, determined not to be convinced, equally unjustifiably in the circumstances, rushed into print and published an octavo pamphlet with voluminous and ponderous notes, entitled "*A Sequel to the Printed* "*Paper lately circulated in Warwickshire by the Rev. Charles Curtis, brother of Alder-* "*man Curtis, a Birmingham Rector: London, for Charles Dilly, 1792.*" To describe the Rector as the brother of the Alderman was a somewhat cheap and undignified way of discounting his antagonist. The manner in which Parr not only thus drags in the name of the unoffending Alderman, whom he had no reason even to suspect of being at all concerned in the matter, but alludes in the pamphlet to his personal appearance is wholly without excuse. The brochure, which reached a second edition, contained some admirable observations on the social, political and religious questions of the day; but was nevertheless so open to ridicule as to afford a Mr. Cumberland the tempting opportunity of replying with a humorous pamphlet called *Curtius Rescued from the Gulf: or the Retort Courteous to Dr. Parr.* By the adventitious aid of the index to the Delphin and other editions of the classics, he strung together a number of passages in which the Latin word *par* occurs. This was calculated not only to offend the taste of Doctor Parr, who detested puns, but to hurt his vanity, by thus caricaturing the pedantic and laboured classicality of his style. Parr was, some months later, convinced of his error in attacking Mr. Curtis. His innate goodness of heart prevented his literary quarrels from rankling, and he has left it on record that one of his prayers was "that no enemy of mine may ever be immortal." He accordingly made honourable reparation by "taking occasion to make

proposals for reconciliation, and the affair was brought to an amicable termination."

I believe I have now referred to all the matters in regard to which Parr was brought into direct and noteworthy connection with Birmingham. He paid occasional private visits to a few friends he had in the town, and doubtless found his way there on book-buying expeditions. But the 16 miles journey by road, necessary in those days before railways, would practically prevent his having much to do with our town; so that the allusion contained in a political contemporary satire in verse, (1) to:—

". . . . . Birmingham, renown'd afar
"At once for half-pence, and for *Dr. Parr*,"

is more smart than accurate, as also is its soubriquet of "the Birmingham Doctor," which De Quincey goes out of his way rather tastelessly to repeat.

Let us now turn to Dr. Parr as minister of Hatton. When he first took up his residence there he found the Church "a small structure of humble appearance;

HATTON CHURCH.

(From a photograph by Dr. Alfred Miller, 1898.)

(1) Three *Dialogues of the Pursuits of Literature* (1794-7), which ran through 7 editions.

"neither in its exterior or interior even touched by the hand of improvement, and "barely protected from the decays or injuries of time and the weather." He greatly improved it. First he built a vestry; then he set to work to improve and adorn the chancel; and finally, in 1822–3, only a year or two before he died, he pulled down the body of the church, and re-built and enlarged it at a total cost, it is said, of nearly £1,000. He also added some painted windows, which, however, no longer appear in the church; having been replaced by others, when it was completely restored in 1876–1881. They were of painted, not stained, glass, and when I visited Hatton in 1886 I was told that they had found a resting place in the tool house of the then Rector.

The church now consists of a chancel, nave, aisles, N. porch, and an embattled W. tower, the only ancient portion of the edifice with which the church, when last restored, was rebuilt to correspond. This tower is a good example of 15th century work, and contains a handsome Perpendicular Window of six lights. The church contains four monumental inscriptions written by Dr. Parr. Two are on the tablets of John Smitheman and Thomas Nelson; and two are in the chancel on the memorial tablets erected by Dr. Parr to his two daughters and a grand-daughter. Next to these is placed the mural monument to him and his first wife (his second survived him), prepared under his direction in his lifetime, and containing the following inscription, also written by himself:—

On the north side of this chancel lieth the body
of Mrs. JANE PARR,
who died at Teignmouth, Devon, April 9th, in the year 1810,
Aged 63:
And next are deposited the remains of her Husband,
the REV. SAMUEL PARR, LL.D.,
who for 39 years was resident and officiating minister of
this Parish,
and who died on the 6th of March in the year 1825,
Aged 78.

Christian Reader!

What doth the Lord require of you but to do justice, to love mercy, to be in charity with your neighbours, to reverence your holy Redeemer, and to walk humbly with your God?

The church is also indebted to the large liberality of Dr. Parr personally, and to his appeals to his friends, for, among other gifts, the church clock, the pulpit and altar decorations, the communion plate, the organ, and above all a new and enlarged set of six bells, which he often boasted was the most musical peal in Warwickshire. Parr, besides being an ardent campanologist—he knew the weight and tone of almost every great bell in Europe—was himself an expert bell-ringer from his Harrow days. De Quincey suggests that he had kept in training the muscles

required for bell-ringing by nearly half a century's practice in flagellation as a pedagogue in which capacity he has achieved a reputation hardly inferior to that of the classic Orbilius. He caused the whole of the bells now in the tower to be cast or recast in 1809, at a cost of £300; he himself with the aid of pupils and personal friends adding a new tenor bell, weighing upwards of 13 cwt. He gave all the bells scriptural names, and in a begging letter to an old Norwich friend describing the inauguration ceremonies in connection with the new bells he says: "The great bell "has inscribed upon it the name of Paul, and is now lying upon our green. It holds "more than 73 gallons. It was filled with good ale, and was emptied too on Friday "last. More than 300 of my parishioners, young and old, rich and poor, assembled; "and their joy was beyond description. I gave some rum for the farmers' wives, and "some Vidonia and elder wine for their daughters; and the lads and lasses had "a merry dance in a large schoolroom," &c., &c.

It will be seen from this that Parr was no mere scholarly recluse. He entered fully into the daily life of the parish, and the joys and sorrows of his parishioners. He patronised by his presence balls, concerts, races, theatrical exhibitions, fairs, clubs, and even boxing contests. May Day at Hatton was a celebrated occasion. He revived the festivities of olden times on a large scale. He had a maypole, firm and straight as a ship's mast, erected about 200 yards from his parsonage, on the opposite side of the road near some cottages, by a few aged and lofty firs, where it remained a memorial of departed glories for some years after the Doctor's death, but alas! the place thereof now knows it no more. Mr. Satchell tells me he has seen Parr in his three-cornered hat personally superintending these May Day festivities, with their music, dancing, and feasting. He remembers too that the maypole was a very handsome affair, and that it had four or five rings of gaily decorated hoops narrowing towards the top of the pole, and that these were every year provided by the ladies of the county who presented them to the Doctor for his rural *fête*.

Dr. Parr was as unconventional in the pulpit as he was in the parish. There, as elsewhere, he was sometimes dignified, and at other times eccentric. Though we are told that nothing could be more solemn or impressive than his manner of reading the Church Service, and though he omitted nothing that is prescribed to be read in churches, he would, nevertheless, so read or recite with over-emphasis, or unseemly haste, certain parts, the Athanasian Creed for instance, as to markedly show his disapproval, if not his contempt.

When, by Order published in the *London Gazette*, the name of Queen Caroline was, on the accession of her husband to the throne in 1820, ordered to be omitted from the Liturgy in all churches, Parr, who was an ardent champion of her cause, reluctantly complied; but relieved his feelings by recording his sentiments on the subject at length in the Prayer Book of Hatton Church, to accompany a copy of the *London Gazette* which he therein inserted and subscribed his name and description as "Resident Minister of Hatton for 33 years and 11 months." In the

margin of the same Prayer Book he inserted in his own hand a large number of explanatory or emendatory notes on the Bible and Church Service. This Prayer Book was, unfortunately, soon after Parr's death, removed from the church and even from the parish. It is now in the museum at Warwick.

He would on occasion make direct or unmistakable references from the pulpit to members of his congregation. If he saw personal friends or strangers from a distance come into the church during divine service—and it was a common thing for persons travelling or staying in the neighbourhood to go to hear the renowned Doctor—he would single them out. Mr. Satchell, who tells me Parr "sometimes made his church like a playhouse with his oddities," remembers being in Hatton Church one Sunday morning when some of the *élite* of Warwick, who had walked over to hear him preach, came in. Parr observed them as they walked up the aisle, and at once lisped out to his manservant and factotum, Samuel Coleman—who, as we shall see, accompanied him everywhere—"Tham! Tham! there are Mithter "Collinth, Mithter Tomth, and Mithter Twamley and party, bwing them up here "into the thanthel!" (chancel). (1)

His sermons lasted half-an-hour or more. But he seldom wrote his sermons or even delivered extempore sermons of his own composition for his country congregation at Hatton. His usual method was to read selected passages from printed practical discourses of eminent Divines—Barrow, Clarke, Balguy, or Jortin—and he made no attempt to conceal the quarto volumes he sometimes took with him into the pulpit for that purpose. Even then he would, after giving out the text and reading a page or so of his borrowed sermon, begin to intersperse his reading with a torrent of illustration from his own recollections and associations. His discourses in short were other men's sermons, with a running fire of critical and illustrative commentary of his own, without any previous preparation whatever. When, however, he laid himself out on a special occasion to deliver a set discourse, it was on the contrary often prepared with plus-quam Johnsonian over-elaboration of language and ran to an abnormal length. His famous *Spital Sermon* was preached on Easter Tuesday, 1800, before the Lord Mayor of London, who observed that he had heard four things in it which he disliked, viz.: the quarters struck by the church clock; and yet it is said that Parr himself, whilst disrobing in the vestry after its delivery, speaking of its style, observed: "I have not the monotonous pomposity of Johnson; I have not the Asiatic efflorescence of Burke." However this may be, his biographer informs us that his enunciation was defective, and his "almost infantile lisp"—as De Quincey calls it—invariably marred the distinctness of his public speaking.

I have mentioned that the first improvement Parr made in the fabric of Hatton

(1) There is a striking anecdote of Parr's unseemly behaviour in church, when he went with Sir James Mackintosh to hear Dr. Horsley preach before the House of Lords on the Martyrdom of King Charles, a few days after the murder of Louis XVI., in 1793, and, disapproving of the preacher's remarks, exclaimed, loud enough to be heard by many persons round, "Damnable doctrine! Master Horseley, damnable doctrine," etc. See Parriana i. 479.

Church was to build a vestry. He probably had personal as well as ecclesiastical reasons for this; for in addition to using it for ordinary clerical purposes he was accustomed to offer up burnt offerings there. I mean he used to take his pipe there, and the smoke of its incense used to rise thence to heaven before the commencement, after the close, and even during the intervals of service. On one occasion when the clerk came in to tell him that the last verse of the hymn before the sermon was being sung, he simply replied, "Then let them sing it over again: *they* like their singing, *I* like my pipe." I do not suppose he even went so far as to smoke in the church, though he was more than once pictorially so represented. Mr. Dyer, a friend of Parr's, in a letter written in 1827, says: "I once saw lying in the Chapter "Coffee-house, the Doctor's *Spital Sermon*, with a comical caricature of him, in "the pulpit, preaching and smoking at the same time, with *Ex fumo dare lucem* "issuing from his mouth." There is a similar engraving in the Combination Room at St. John's College, Cambridge—where, by the way, Parr migrated from Emanuel for some reason in later life—in which the Doctor is represented as preaching, and at the same time pouring down clouds of smoke upon the congregation. The picture (1) is entitled, "Frontispiece to Dr. Bellendenus's (2) Sermon, preached before the Right Honourable, etc., etc."

"*Faucibus ingentem fumum (mirabile dictu!)*
Evomuit . . . ."

It was *à propos* of some pictorial or literary caricatures of the kind that Parr, in a letter to his friend Homer (who, like a "d——d good-natured friend"—to quote Parr's old pupil, Sheridan—had sent them to him), wrote: "I thank you for the "squibs, which are precious dull and impudent. You see that with all their "eagerness to find some fault with me, they cannot find me guilty of a greater "sin than smoaking; and smoaking is no reproach upon my learning, taste, manners "or morals." This, however, is essentially "*de gustibus*" concerning which "*non disputandum*"; but I may mention that whilst Emanuel College religiously preserves relics of Parr in the shape of his pipe, tobacco-box, and stopper, there is yet another portrait of him in the Combination Room at St. John's, in which—though he is represented seated in his armchair, decently habited in cassock, bands, and wig, with his left hand thrust into his waistband—there is an ambiguous streak in the canvas reaching from his lips to the outstretched fingers of his right hand, due, as tradition says, to the putting out, or rather painting out, of his pipe by a later hand. Presumably it was thought that the presence of a "churchwarden" was not consistent with the dignity of a room sacred to college dons.

Parr's pipe was indeed a part of himself, unless it be more correct to say that he was a slave to it. He would visit nowhere where smoking was tabooed. "No pipe, no Parr," he used to say. His habit was universally known and generally indulged. Even when he was invited to dine with Geo. IV., when Prince of Wales,

(1) Published by H. Humphrey, Nov. 24th, 1809.
(2) One of Parr's most famous diatribes was his "*Preface to Bellendenus.*"

at Carlton House, his Royal Highness pleased him greatly by insisting on his taking his pipe as usual. In his egotistical fashion, "he often represented it as an instance

REV. SAMUEL PARR, LL.D.

(From the portrait by George Dawe, R.A., 1814.)

"of the homage which rank and beauty delight to pay to talent and learning, that "ladies of the highest station condescended to the office of lighting his pipe." He always left his friends' tables to smoke, and left their houses also if his pipe was not prepared.

He must have been a troublesome guest at times. He was a gourmand—if not a glutton—rather than a gourmet. As a young boy he was spoilt by his mother, who consulted his every wish and whim, and so indulged his appetite as to have hot meat suppers prepared for him from his early childhood. Mr. Satchell tells me that in after life his man Sam used to attend him when he went out to

dinner in order to wait upon him, and that when he got a tid-bit of food he would, before the whole company, tell Sam to secure another plate of it for him to be ready when the first was finished. One who knew him well has remarked on his "want of personal cleanliness," which was "at times exceedingly offensive." "I have "seen him," he says, "at a party sit down to the supper table by himself, eat "promiscuously, then leave the table and the dishes, etc., in great disorder."

He was, moreover, strange and inconsistent in his dress, which was as slovenly at one time as it was rich at another; and in his demeanour which varied between the free and easy and the pompous and over-bearing. De Quincey says that on Parr's own showing his two chief ambitions from his youth up were a mitre and a coach-and-four. A friend describes how even in 1772, when he was a young man of 25, at Stanmore, he made himself publicly ridiculous "by riding in high prelatical pomp "through the streets on a black saddle, bearing in his hand a long cane or wand, such "as women used to have, with an ivory head like a crozier, which was perhaps why "he liked it; at other times he was seen walking through the town in a dirty striped "morning gown." He never, as we have seen, got his bishopric, but he did get his coach-and-four with all the proper appointments and state, though not till 1823, when he was in his 77th year, and he could not enjoy it for long, the hand of death being then already heavy upon him. He was enabled to provide himself with this long desired luxury by reason of a sudden increase in value of his prebend in St. Paul's Cathedral, given him by Bishop Louth. Originally of insignificant, and almost nominal value, on the falling in of certain leases it raised him from comparative poverty to wealth, brought his total income to upwards of £3,000 a year, and enabled him to leave behind him a fortune of between £40,000 and £50,000. (1) He made the most of his equipage in the short time left to him, and De Quincey records that "upon any or no excuse, the Doctor was seen flying over the land at full gallop, and scouring town and country with four clerical-looking long tailed horses." His ordinary out-door appearance must have been striking. Field tells us that the first time he ever saw Parr was on a fine summer day in 1790, when he found him seated on one of the lower steps of the windmill that formerly stood on the summit of Hatton Hill, admiring the view and "clad in a flowered damask morning gown, with a pipe in his hand." Another writer who visited him at Hatton in 1803, 13 years later, says, "As I approached the house in a chaise from Warwick, I met "the Doctor taking his ride, mounted on a stout pony, and habited in a loose "zebra-striped great coat—stripes brown and white—a dress well known in all the "neighbourhood." He adds that Parr's dress was "peculiar and emphatically his "own," and that "he showed me his wardrobe, in which there was a great assortment "of clothes, velvets, silks, etc."

Whenever Parr rode out, his man Sam—an old and faithful servant, and a dignified personage in his way, having a measured step, solemn deportment, and

(1) Parr's total regular clerical income up to an advanced age, when Sir Francis Burdett gave him a living of some £200 a year, was £93 from his living, and £17 from his prebend.

rather consequential manner—who invariably accompanied his master wherever he went, rode with him. Apart from social intercourse, of which he was fond, Parr's only relaxation or exercise was riding. "He was often to be seen," says Field, in a vivid sketch, "on the road from Hatton to Warwick, or from that town to "Leamington, moving slowly along, the most grotesque figure imaginable, wrapped "in an old blue cloak, with coarse worsted stockings, and one rusty spur; his head "covered with a huge cauliflower wig, and a small cocked hat overtopping all; his "servant preceding him about a dozen yards, either on foot or on horseback."

Before parting with the faithful Sam, I must tell one anecdote of him and his master. On one occasion, when Dr. Parr was leaving home for some time and was locking up various parts of the parsonage—perhaps on one of Dr. Bridges's periodic spiritual visitations—he decided to fasten up the wine cellar. So he told Sam to bring a hammer and nails and to nail up the door. This was accordingly done under Parr's personal supervision, and it was not until they were about to leave that they discovered that they had nailed it up *from the inside.*

We have already seen that Dr. Parr as he appeared in his library in his in-door morning dress—the dingy brownish-black suit, clerical stockings hanging in wrinkles, easy shoes, and well-worn red night-cap. His evening costume presented a complete contrast. Then he appeared "in a well-powdered wig, and always wore his band "and cassock. On extraordinary occasions he was arrayed in a full-dress suit of "black velvet, of the cut of the old times, when his appearance was imposing and "dignified." Parr's biographers and others who knew him in the flesh, have left descriptions of his personal appearance almost as inconsistent as he himself was in his personal habits. Field says he was of the middle height, squarely built, and of strong athletic frame, though not corpulent. His head was large and somewhat cumbrous; he had fine grey eyes and uncommonly animated even in old age, and large bushy eyebrows. He was very proud of the power of his eye, and in speaking of an opponent would say "I inflicted my eye upon him." He was fond of having his portrait painted and engraved; and in criticising them observed: "All the "artists to whom I have sat, fail in one feature—none of them give me my peculiar "ferocity." A friend once heard him lament that no artist had ever given a good likeness of him: "Sir, they *will* not express my ferocity." In the possession of this unamiable feature he seemed to pride himself. His features, though somewhat coarse, which the marks of smallpox, when he was a boy of twelve, helped to accentuate, were not irregular, and on the whole pleasing. When his face was in repose, and unruffled by the passion that at times swayed him, it bore an expression of serene benignity and good humour. Sydney Smith acknowledged "the genuine goodness of his heart." And he was indeed exceedingly kind-hearted, as his generosity and personal kindness to his poor parishioners, his defraying out of his own pocket the cost of defending poor prisoners at Warwick Assizes, his untiring attentions and visitations to condemned criminals in Warwick gaol, and his refusal to prosecute offenders because of the shocking severity of the criminal law then in force,

amply demonstrate. In his whole air and manner there was much of the dignity that commands respect even when it unbends; and it was characteristic of him that he would allow no liberty from anyone high or low. In spite of his lisp, Field adds, he might have been an orator. De Quincey, on the other hand, says, "his infantile lisp" was the worst he ever heard. "His person," he adds, "was poor, and his "features were coarse and ignoble, with an air at the same time of drollery, that did "not sit well upon age or the gravity of his profession."

His vanity was inordinate and unconcealed. He at one time proposed to write a life of Dr. Johnson, a task for which he had accumulated a large store of materials, and for which he thought himself singularly fitted, as he was regarded as the Whig Johnson. "If I had written it," he said, "it would have been the third most learned work that has ever yet appeared."(1) In an obituary notice of one of his daughters which he himself wrote for the *Gentleman's Magazine*,(2) after the usual observations about the "painful illness borne with exemplary patience, resignation," etc., and sundry religious reflections, he goes on to say—unless indeed we are charitably to set it down as an editorial addition—that "her venerable father "whose attainments are exceeded only by the strength of his understanding and the "warmth of his heart, will long and deeply feel and lament her loss."

He had a pungent humour, but out of a score or more anecdotes which I should like to give, I must content myself with one or two. When he heard of the execution of his friend O'Coighley, an Irish priest, for high treason, he burst into tears; but when Sir James Mackintosh, the famous Scots lawyer, who had turned his political coat, observed that O'Coighley was a rascal, Parr retorted: "Yes, Jamie, he "was a bad man, but he might have been worse. He was an Irishman, he might "have been a Scotchman; he was a priest, he might have been a lawyer; he was "a republican, he might have been an apostate!" He was specially severe, as he himself owns, on "conceited sciolists, saucy pretenders, and pompous or officious dogmatists." To one young gentleman whose pretentious conversation annoyed him, he said: "Sir, you are a young man; you have read much, thought little, and *know* nothing at all."(3) To another young man, who pertly said: "Suppose, Dr. Parr, you and I were to write a book together?" "Young man," he replied, "if "all were to be written in that book which I do know, and which you do not "know, it would be a very large book indeed." He was ever intolerant of scoffers at religion. When a youth of noble family asked him with an air of levity, "Whether "he thought the cross on the back of the ass was really caused by our Saviour's "riding on that animal into Jerusalem," Dr. Parr instantly replied, with knit brow and raised voice, "It would be well, young man, if you had a little more of the cross, and a little less of the ass."

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(1) The two others being Bentley's *Phalaris*, and Salmasius's commentary *De Hellenistica*. Field i. 164.

(2) Dec., 1805.

(3) *Diary* of Henry Crabb Robinson, vol. ii. p. 385, Field (ii. 127) gives the story thus: "B(arker), you have read *little*, thought *less*, and know *nothing!*"

I have not pretended to deal with Dr. Parr's literary performances generally, nor with his literary style, nor with his political opinions, nor with his religious beliefs. My object has been to give you a picture of the *man*, a fine old Warwickshire worthy now more than half forgotten. I have made occasional references to De Quincey's famous article by which Parr's fame is largely kept alive to-day, and which will doubtless long outlive it. Like its subject, the article is crammed with inconsistency. There is scarcely an epithet or term of abuse with which he does not bespatter Parr's memory; yet he is candid enough to confess to his "villainous prejudices," and in a generous fit exclaims "Sam Parr, I love you!" Though undeniably venomous as a whole, the article is nevertheless—a cynic would perhaps say, therefore—good reading. Antithetical in his style, "Parr was himself one vast antithesis"; a living contradiction in himself, he has been a fertile cause of contradictory judgments upon himself. Whilst on the one hand Sydney Smith, in the concluding words of his article(1) written during Dr. Parr's lifetime, lamented that 'a truly devout and attentive minister, a strenuous defender of the church "establishment, and by far the most learned man of his day, should be permitted "to languish on a paltry little curacy in Warwickshire," De Quincey, on the contrary, within a quarter of a century after Parr was in his grave, is found attacking him in the last sentence of his essay as "a divine, who, for the sake of those sectaries "whom charity enjoined him to tolerate, betrayed that church which it was his "holiest duty to defend."

There is no juster remark in De Quincey's essay than the passage in which he observes:—"And now that Dr. Parr is dead, he will sink doubtless even more "abruptly to his just standard than ever he rose above it, or perhaps, by the violence "of such a natural reaction, will be carried very much below it": which fate is now realized.

This judgment, given in 1857, is in exact accordance with one which had been passed nearly 30 years before by a *Quarterly Reviewer*,(2) in a passage written not long after Parr's death, which contains, as in a nutshell, perhaps as fair an estimate of him as has ever been penned:—

"We have seldom seen a character more difficult to decipher than that of "Dr. Parr. There is so much in him to admire, and so much to reprobate; so "much wisdom and so much prejudice; the generosity of a man, conscious of merit "indisputable, mixed with the jealousy of a man of mere pretensions—that his image "is only the antitype of that in Nebuchadnezzar's dream, of which the head was "of fine gold and the feet of clay. It was unfortunate for Parr, and for the world too, "that his great powers were never directed to one great object. He had vast "strength, but never seems to have discovered wherein it lay . . . . He has "entrusted a large portion of his fame to the memory of those who knew and "have survived him, and when they in their turn shall be gathered to their fathers, it

(1) Edinburgh Review., 1802.

(2) *Quarterly Review*, April, 1829, Vol. xxxix. 255-314 (By S. S. Blunt).

"will be the classical antiquary alone who will be able to tell of the extraordinary "erudition of Dr. Parr."

These words were written nearly 70 years since; and they furnish me with an excuse—if any excuse be needed—for thus introducing Dr. Samuel Parr, of Hatton, to the notice of the Birmingham Archæological Society.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE.

The Works of Samuel Parr, LL.D. (8 vols.) 1828 (Longman & Co.), edited by John Johnstone, M.D., F.R.S. Vol. i. contains the *Memoirs* by Johnstone. Although it is the official biography, it is much inferior to the "*Memoirs* of the Life, Writings, and Opinions of the Rev. Samuel Parr, LL.D., With Biographical "notices of many of his Friends, Pupils, and Contemporaries," by the Rev. William Field (2 vols.), 1828 (Henry Colburn). Johnstone's *Memoir* is undigested, chaotic, and tediously discursive. It is, moreover, and with intention (see pp. 378-9, and 844) destitute of these *personalia* and *ana*, upon which much of the interest in the life of Parr depends, and which are to be found in the voluminous work entitled "*Parriana*," by E. H. Barker (2 vols. 1828-9), a curious and bulky *omnium gatherum* of miscellanies. Johnstone's *Memoir* has no Index, and but a poor Table of Contents; Field's *Memoir* has no Index, but a fair Table of Contents prefixed to each chapter; while *Parriana* has neither Index nor Table of any kind. The most concise, and at the same time complete, notice of Parr is the excellent article by Mr. Leslie Stephen, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Appended to it is a full list of books and articles relating to Parr, rendering those references here unnecessary. The following *addenda* to that list may be found useful: Henry Crabb Robinson's *Diary* (Index: "Parr"); *Recollections of the Table Talk of Samuel Rogers* (Index: "Parr"); *Walter Savage Landor: A Biography*. By John Foster (Index: "Parr"); Colville's *Worthies of Warwickshire, 1500—1800; A Passing World*. By Bessie Rayner Belloc (chap. on "Dr. Samuel Parr," pp. 101—154).

Excursions.

TO SHUSTOKE AND NETHER WHITACRE.

June 11th, 1898.

SHUSTOKE Church was first visited under the guidance of the Vicar, the Rev. T. Whitehead. The fate of this Church, which was built under Edward I., has been singular. In the year 1801, it was struck by lightning and the whole of the stained glass, described by Dugdale, was demolished. Again, a few years since, it was struck with more disastrous effect, the whole edifice being practically burned out, with the exception of the tower. Owing to these calamities, there is little in the church that is old; but the restoration or re-building has been effected with great care and skill. Of the once numerous monuments only two remain. One of these is the monument of the famous antiquary, Sir Wm. Dugdale, who himself composed the inscription. In the vestry is an enormous chest, nine feet in length and weighing half-a-ton, hollowed in one piece from the trunk. A church stood on the site in Saxon or Norman times. Part of the foundations were discovered in course of rebuilding, and a single vestige in the shape of a Romanesque Capital is built into the porch. The font also was a relic of this church. It perished in the fire, but enough remained to enable a *fac simile* to be made. The design is very singular, and seems characteristically Saxon.

From Shustoke, Bott's Green House was reached, and inspected by permission of Mr. Swift. It is a curious half-timbered mansion, much altered in parts, but so completely out of the world as to retain its old aspect almost unvaried. The fleur-de-lis of the Digby family is very prominently inserted in the front. Within there is a carved stone mantlepiece, carefully painted and grained to imitate wood; and upstairs a small panelled room of plain design. There is no appearance of any moat.

Nether Whitacre Hall, the next place to be visited, is even more modernised. It was seen by the kind permission of Mr. J. Watson, but the house itself is not of interest. The moat, however, is singularly fine, broad, deep, and in the highest

degree picturesque. There are remains of three towers to defend the approaches. The old loop-holed porch or gateway is of much interest. It has a quaint half-timbered gable on which the Digby fleur-de-lis again appears.

At Nether Whitacre Church, the Rector, the Rev. L. F. de Herrez, kindly attended the party. The tower is old, and has some singularly grotesque heads which seem rather to have been built in than to form part of the original structure. Of the church it can only be said that it is in the last degree commonplace and mean. It contains the monument of the last direct heir to the great Jennen's estates, who lived at Nether Whitacre Hall. The register dates from the 16th century, but the greater part of the sacred edifice is too manifestly of the middle of the 19th. The stained glass can only be described as a striking example of all that should be avoided.

The attendance at this excursion was 20.

TO STOW-ON-THE-WOLD, ICOMBE, AND BLEDINGTON.

June 29th, 1898.

Carriages were in waiting at Moreton-in-the-Marsh Station to convey the party to Stow-on-the-Wold, a portion of the journey being along the "Fosse Way." The church at Stow is very interesting, one perpendicular window being remarkably fine. The treatment of the sedilia is also worthy of notice, and the two ancient yew trees which seem to embrace the entrance are curious. The church embodies almost every style of architecture from the Norman downward. Unfortunately the decoration and the stained glass are entirely modern, and present a lamentable contrast to the older work. The stone-built and almost deserted market place, with its restored market cross, is an excellent example of its kind, and contains one or two remarkable houses.

After luncheon Icombe, or "I' th' Combe," was reached by very hilly ways. This most secluded hamlet possesses a small church which is a model of simple grace and perfect proportion. The early English work in the interior is of the finest character, and restoration has been effected with care. In a chantry there is a good effigy of Sir John Blaket, who fought at Agincourt. The tower is of much later date than the body of the church, but is in the highest degree quaint and picturesque. The modern stained glass is simply an eyesore. Icombe Place, which was visited, by the courteous permission of J. M. Simpson, Esq., is a mediæval manor house of the 15th century, formerly the seat of the Blakets. Unfortunately

it had been partially occupied as a farm and had been suffered to fall into ruinous decay. To make it again a gentleman's dwelling-house drastic restoration appears to have been needed, and in the course of this much of the interest has vanished.

On the way to Chipping Norton Junction, for the return journey, Bledington Church was visited. It is of the greatest interest, being practically unrestored. The Norman Sanctus-bell cote still remains; the old massive oak seats with excellent carving are as they were; much of the old stained glass remains unshamed by modern additions; the covers of the Bible are still chained to the reading desk; and even the proclamation ordering a collection for the sufferers by the Great Fire of London is carefully preserved. Very remarkable are internal window niches, despoiled of their statues, but otherwise uninjured. The date of the church is probably early 13th century.

Fifteen members and ladies were present.

WOLVERHAMPTON, CLAVERLEY, AND LUDSTONE HALL.

July 9th, 1898.

The Collegiate Church of St. Peter, at Wolverhampton, was first visited. The plan of this fine church is peculiar, the transepts not extending beyond the width of the aisles, while the chancel is as remarkable for length and proportionate narrowness as the body of the church is for width. The arches of the central tower are of Early English date, and are so restricted in width as almost to separate the chancel from the church. Most of the other portions of the building are much more recent; some indeed entirely modern, but the rebuilding appears generally to have been carried out with judgment and care. Several of the monuments are noteworthy, especially so those of the Leveson family, including the fine bronze effigy to Admiral Leveson, by Le Sieur, an example of a very rare kind in sepulchral monuments. Historically interesting also is the monument to Colonel John Lane, who was so helpful in the escape of Charles II., after Worcester. To the extremely interesting Altar Table a reference was made in the paper on "Ancient Church Fittings," read before the Society by Mr. Richard H. Murray (Transactions for 1895, p. 29). The very ancient pillar in the churchyard may either be the shaft of a churchyard cross or a Runic burial monument. What remains of the decoration tends rather to the latter supposition. The Rector, the Rev. Alfred Penny, rendered every assistance to the visitors.

Claverley was reached by a drive along roads sometimes of a very picturesque character, and at the church the party had the courteous guidance of the Rev. D. D. Jenkins. The building exhibits progressive specimens of architecture from Norman and Early English to regrettably recent styles. The interior is imposing, and although at first the lavish use of paint and whitewash are a little startling, yet it must be confessed that the church has suffered less than most, and the high-backed pews and other 18th century innovations are certainly less damaging to the effect than some of the glaring modern stained glass. The Font is Norman, and in good preservation, though many times subjected to the indignity of paint. Probably the most striking objects here are the monuments of the Gatacre family, resident in the neighbourhood from Anglo-Saxon times, and notable in our own day from the services of General Gatacre. One of these is a very fine marble tomb with three recumbent effigies. More singular still are the two wall-tablets to members of the same family, which are fine examples of the incised slabs so rare in England.

At Ludstone Hall, the seat of Jos. R. Cartwright, Esq., the party was hospitably entertained to tea ; and the whole of the house and grounds were made free to the company. The hall is Jacobean, and somewhat in the style of Castle Bromwich Hall. It retains its moat, which at the rear of the house expands to a very picturesque pool. Some of the rooms have fine carving, panelling, or plaster work, and the whole building has been restored with scrupulous care and consideration. As it now stands it is not only a most attractive residence, but a good specimen of the country mansion of three centuries ago, so judiciously renovated as to bid fair for another three centuries of dignified use.

Thirty-one members and friends were present.

CIRENCESTER.

July 27th, 1898.

The last Excursion for the year was to Cirencester on July 27th.

The Church was first visited, under the guidance of the Rev. Mr. Townsend, whose perfect acquaintance with all the details was an invaluable assistance. Here are to be traced remains of Norman, Early English, and indeed, in a sense, of Roman architecture ; one pillar being evidently of Roman origin, and no doubt removed from the ruins of Corinium. The building is, however, mainly a noble example of perpendicular work, the body being nearly square, and giving a strong impression

of space, light, and dignity. What restoration there is, is careful and reverent, and the modern stained glass emulates with success the older remaining relics. There are many interesting brasses, and the stone pulpit is very fine.

The beautiful two-storied porch, or parvis, was then inspected: a noble perpendicular edifice, the original purpose of which has not been clearly ascertained, but which, for four centuries, has been the pride of Cirencester.

After luncheon, the remarkable collection of Roman remains, formed by Wilfrid Cripps, Esq., C.B., was examined under the guidance of Mrs. Cripps. The most striking objects here are the jewels, and part of the remains of a Roman lady, who apparently perished in one of the troubles of the city, since her remains were found in no recognised place of burial. A fine capital at the doors of the Museum is a relic of the Basilica, which the researches of Mr. Cripps have proved to have been a stately edifice of 300 feet in length.

The Roman pavement *in sitû*, close to the park, which Earl Bathurst throws open so generously to the public, was seen by permission; and the Museum, formed by the Bathurst family, and containing, among countless objects of interest, two of the finest known Roman Mosaic pavements, was then visited.

Of the Abbey, which was seen in the evening, little more than a Norman gateway remains. This, however, is very interesting, and the small window through which doles were distributed still retains the original panes of horn.

Officers and Committee, 1898.

ELECTIVE.

SAM: TIMMINS, J.P., F.S.A., *President.*
HOWARD S. PEARSON, *Honorary Secretary.*
WRIGHT WILSON, F.R.C.S., Edin., *Hon. Librarian.*
W. J. CHURCHILL, *Hon. Secretary for Excursions.*
REV. A. L. CHATTAWAY.
JETHRO A. COSSINS.
REV. H. T. TILLEY, M.A.

EX-OFFICIO (Officers of the Institute).

W. WHITWORTH WALLIS, F.S.A., } *Vice-Presidents.*
J. B. CARSLAKE, B.A., }
G. S. MATTHEWS, M.A., *Hon. Treasurer.*
COUNCILLOR R. F. MARTINEAU, *Hon. Secretary.*

Report of the Committee for the year 1898,

PRESENTED AT THE ANNUAL MEETING, JANUARY 25th, 1899.

The Committee are glad to report that the work of the Society during the year has been thoroughly satisfactory; all the Meetings having been excellently attended, while the excursions have been of great interest and entirely successful.

The following papers have been read:—

Jan. 26—(Annual Meeting) "James Keir." In the absence of Mr. SAM. TIMMINS, J.P., this paper was read by Mr. WRIGHT WILSON, F.R.C.S., Edin.

Feb. 23—"A Plea for the Production of an Archæological Map and Index for the County of Warwick." The Rev. J. O. BEVAN, M.A., F.S.A.

March 23—"Salford Priors" (2nd paper). The Rev. FATHER CHATTAWAY.

Nov. 16—"Old Houses in Stratford-on-Avon." Mr. W. SALT BRASSINGTON, F.S.A.

Dec. 14—"Dr. Samuel Parr, of Hatton: A Warwickshire Worthy (1747—1825." SHOWELL ROGERS, M.A., LL.D.

This paper was kindly contributed in lieu of the paper on "The Early Roads and Trackways of Warwickshire and Worcestershire," which Professor Windle was compelled to defer.

During the Summer the following Excursions have been made:—

June 11th (Half-day)—To Shustoke and Nether Whitacre. Attendance 20.

June 29th (Whole-day)—To Stow-on-the-Wold, Icombe, and Bledington. Attendance 15.

July 9th (Half-day)—To Wolverhampton, Claverley, and Ludstone Hall. Attendance 31.

July 27th (Whole-day)—To Cirencester. Attendance 9.

These Excursions were generally well attended, and resulted in no loss to the Society.

The Committee desire to record their gratitude for the uniform courtesy, and in several cases hospitality, with which their members were received, and of which due acknowledgment has been made.

Members of the Committee have also informally visited, at the request of the Local Authorities concerned, Tamworth Castle, and the Chapel of St. Alphege in Solihull Church, and have given advice in the matter of contemplated restorations and repairs.

The Committee and the Committee of the Scientific Society have each contributed towards the purchase of an Electric Lantern, the balance being defrayed by the Institute. The lantern will be available for the meetings of the Archæological Society when required.

The urgent question of the provision of a more convenient room for the Library, engravings, photographs, and other property of the Society, has had the serious attention of the Committee, who have received from the Council every possible aid toward the solution of this difficult problem which is still under consideration.

The Annual Congress of Archæological Societies was held in the rooms of the Society of Antiquaries in London, in July, but the Committee were not able to appoint a representative on this occasion. Neither has the Committee found it possible to proceed in the matter of the preparation of an Archæological Map of Warwickshire, as advocated by the Rev. J. O. Bevan, in his paper read on February 23rd; the union of ample leisure and of local knowledge required making the project one not easy of accomplishment.

The Society has sustained a severe loss by the resignation of Mr. Sam. Timmins, J.P., F.S.A., its President from the commencement. The services of Mr. Timmins have not only been long continued, but of priceless value, and the Committee are assured that he will carry with him in his retirement the grateful memory of every member of the Society.

The Committee much regret to report a small diminution in the number of Members, notwithstanding the interest shown in the Society's work, and the large attendance at the meetings. The Membership now stands at 192, as compared with 203 last year.

The Volume of Transactions for 1897 has been duly printed, and is in interest and value equal to any of its predecessors. It may not be out of place to mention that a number of the illustrations have been added by the generosity of the writers of the papers therein contained, and that the actual cost of each copy is greater than the subscription required for Membership of the Society.

The balance on the combined General and Copying Fund accounts now stands at £66 17s. 4d., as compared with £70 17s. 10d. last year. Of this sum about £50 or £60 will be required for the printing of this year's Transactions.

Income and Expenditure Accounts and Balance Sheet

FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31ST DECEMBER, 1898.

General Account.

Dr.

1898	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Dec. 31.—To Audit Expenses	2	2	0			
„ Postages	7	15	0			
„ Printing	4	12	11			
„ Subscription—Society of Antiquaries	1	0	0			
„ Transactions	54	13	6			
				70	3	5
„ Balance carried forward ...				*16	4	11
				£86	8	4

Cr.

1898	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Jan. 1.—By Balance brought forward ...				41	16	10
Dec 31.— „ Excursions, surplus on ...		17	6			
„ Subscriptions ... 48 10 0						
„ Less amount received for 1899 7 6 0						
	41	4	0			
„ Transactions, sale of	2	10	0			
				44	11	6
				£86	8	4

Copying Fund.

1898	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Dec. 31.—To Illustrations to Transactions	4	10	6			
„ Reprints, Photographs, &c.	5	14	9			
				10	5	3
„ Balance carried forward ...				*50	12	5
				£60	17	8

1898	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Jan 1.—By Balance brought forward ...				34	17	0
Dec. 31.— „ Interest on Deposit Account		13	8			
„ Subscriptions	25	7	0			
				26	0	8
				£60	17	8

Balance Sheet.

1898	£	s.	d.
Dec. 31.—To Balance on General Account	16	4	11
„ Subscriptions received for 1899 ...	7	6	0
„ Balance on Copying Fund	50	12	5
	£74	3	4

1898	£	s.	d.
Dec. 31.—To amount in hands of Lloyds Bank :—			
General Account	23	10	11
Deposit Account	50	12	5
	£74	3	4

Examined and found correct,

(Signed) C. A. HARRISON, BARRATT, WEST, AND THORLEY,

14th January, 1899. *Chartered Accountants.*

* These amounts will be required to defray the cost of the Transactions for the year 1898, due to Members.

Birmingham and Midland Institute.

BIRMINGHAM ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

TRANSACTIONS, EXCURSIONS, AND REPORT.

Birmingham and Midland Institute.

BIRMINGHAM ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

TRANSACTIONS,

EXCURSIONS, AND REPORT,

For the Year 1899.

VOL. XXV.

WALSALL:
PRINTED FOR SUBSCRIBERS ONLY,
BY W. HENRY ROBINSON, STEAM PRINTING WORKS.
1900.

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PLAN OF THE LEASOWES,
AS DESCRIBED BY DODSLEY, WHO VISITED THEM IN 1754.
FROM VOL. II OF SHENSTONE'S WORKS, PUBLISHED 1764.
A
B
C
D

poet left them, as if it were a national trust confided to his keeping. As archæologists, we ought to honour him; though, alas! as we shall see, his predecessors would earn quite other epitaphs from this. Still even to-day we may trace some remnant of the contour of the estate; though grounds once lawns, now pasture cattle, and an embanked canal cuts off the vista through the woods that once lay—

> "Wide stretching from the hall,
> To where the broken landscape by degrees
> Ascending, roughens into rigid hills,
> O'er which the Cambrian mountains like far clouds
> That skirt the blue horizon dusky rise."

The house, which we should scarcely now call a mansion, is of moderate dimensions, and has no claim to antiquity. Comfortable, and in Shenstone's time doubtless worthy to be occupied by his own Mulciber, the Mayor of Birmingham. The title, showing the poet's foresight, reminds us how—

> "In a Roman mouth the graceful name
> Of poet and of prophet was the same."

Even he might be well pleased if his vision reach the end of this century, with the present uses to which his groves are dedicated; the nurture of health and bodily vigour, so that nymphs still flit like young Dian, among his haunts of the muses.

I learn from Dr. Johnson's "Lives of the Poets," that Wm. Shenstone, son of Thomas Shenstone (who farmed his own land), and Anne Penn, from Harboro', was born in Nov., 1714, at the Leasowes, in Halesowen, in a plot of Shropshire, surrounded by Warwickshire and Worcestershire [probably transferred as the estate of some heiress of pre-historic times to the distant county], one of those insulated districts appended to a county, though perhaps 30 miles from any part of it.

He learned to read of an old dame, Sarah Lloyd, whom his poem of the "Schoolmistress" has delivered to posterity; and he soon received such delight from books that he was always calling for fresh entertainment, and expected that when any of the family went to market, a new book should be brought him, which, when it came, was in fondness carried to bed and laid by him.

He went for awhile to the Grammar School in Halesowen, and was placed afterwards with Mr. Crumpton, an eminent schoolmaster at Solihull, where he distinguished himself by the quickness of his progress.

When he was only ten years old he lost his father, and two years later his grandfather. His grandmother took care of him and his brother, and managed the estate.

In 1732, he went to Pembroke College, in Oxford, a society, says the Doctor, which for half a century has been eminent for English poetry and elegant literature,

He continued his name in the book ten years, though he took no degree. At Oxford he employed himself upon English poetry, and in 1737 published a small miscellany without his name.

In 1741, he published his "Judgment of Hercules," addressed to Mr. Lyttelton, whose interest he supported at an election. This poem was followed by the "Schoolmistress," published when Shenstone was 28.

On the death of his grandmother his affairs were cared for by the Rev. Mr. Dolman, of Broom, in Staffordshire; whom Shenstone always mentioned with gratitude, as being indebted to that care for ease and leisure till Dolman's death in 1745. Shenstone then took the Estate into his own hands, "more (says Johnson) "to the improvement of its beauty than the increase of its produce."

He died in his 49th year, at the Leasowes, of fever, on Feb. 11th, 1763, and was buried by the side of his brother in the churchyard of Halesowen.

He was never married, though he probably might have won the lady to whom his Pastoral Ballad was addressed. He is represented by his friend and publisher, Dodsley, as a man of great tenderness and generosity; but, if once offended, not easily appeased; inattentive to economy, and careless of his expenses. In his person he was above the middle size, with something clumsy in his form; and very negligent in his clothes, and remarkable for wearing his grey hair in a peculiar manner; for he "held that fashion was no rule of dress, and that every man should "suit his appearance to his natural form." This implies he wore his own hair, while others of his station wore wigs; I commend him.

What Gray, his junior by 2 years (the Elegy dates, 1750) thought of his character from the perusal of his Letters was this:—"I have read, too, an octavo volume of "Shenstone's letters. Poor man! He was always wishing for money, for fame, and "other distinctions, and his whole philosophy consisted in living against his will in "retirement, and in a place which his taste had adorned, but which he only enjoyed "when people of note came to see and commend it. His correspondence is about "nothing else but this place and his own writings, with two or three neighbouring "clergymen, who wrote verses too."

Shenstone's poems consisted of elegies, odes and ballads, humorous sallies, and moral pieces; 117 pieces in all.

In his preface he judiciously explains his conception of an elegy. It is the effusion of a contemplative mind, sometimes plaintive and always serious; and therefore superior to the glitter of slight ornaments. His compositions suit this description. He praises the domestic virtues, and his thoughts are pure and simple; but wanting combination they want variety. The peace of solitude, the innocence of inactivity, and the unenvied security of a humble station, can fill but a few pages. That of which the essence is uniformity will be soon described. His elegies have, therefore, too much resemblance to each other.

The lyric poems trip lightly and nimbly along without the load of any weighty meaning. From this criticism "Rural Elegance" has some right to be excepted. It contains both philosophic argument and poetical spirit.

But the four parts of his Pastoral Ballad demand particular notice—as perhaps the best known of his verses. "In the first part," says Johnson, "are two passages, to which, if any mind denies its sympathy, it has no acquaintance with love or nature."

"I prized every hour that went by,
Beyond all that had pleased me before,
But now they are past, and I sigh,
And I grieve that I prized them no more.
When forced the fair nymph to forego,
What anguish I felt in my heart!
Yet I thought, but it might not be so,
'T was with pain that she saw me depart.
She gazed as I slowly withdrew,
My path I could hardly discern;
So sweetly she bade me adieu,
I thought that she bade me return."

In the second, this oft quoted passage has its prettiness:—

"I have found out a gift for my fair;
I have found where the wood pigeons breed:
But let me that plunder forbear,
She will say 't was a barbarous deed:
For he ne'er could be true she averred,
Who could rob a poor bird of its young;
And I loved her the more when I heard
Such tenderness fall from her tongue."

Is this the man who disputed with some asperity with the squire of Lapal Hall about coursing a hare on his land? as we learn in Mr. Kenward's "Harborne "and its Environs." But if in England grown men do not read in the country, the country would be dull without field sports, and Shenstone was after all a country squire, with a pretty turn for versifying.

In the third part he mentions the Common-places of amorous poetry with some address:—

"'T is his with mock passion to glow!
'T is his in smooth tales to unfold
How her face is as bright as the snow,
And her bosom be sure is as cold;
How the nightingales labour the strain
With the notes of his charmer to vie,
How they vary their accents in vain,
Repine at her triumphs and die."

In the fourth part, I can find nothing better than this natural strain of Hope:—

"Alas! from the day that we met,
What hope of an end of my woes,
When I cannot endure to forget
The glance that undid my repose?
Yet Time may diminish the pain:
The flower and the shrub and the tree,
Which I reared for her pleasure in vain,
In time may have comfort for me."

In our day only the critic of the *Times* newspaper would quote Dr. Johnson as a model poet, but his judgment of Shenstone is in the main fair when he says, "His Levities are by their title exempted from the severities of criticism, yet it "may be remarked in a few words that his humour is sometimes gross and seldom "spritely."

"Of the moral poems, the first is the 'Choice of Hercules,' from Xenophon. "The numbers are smooth, the diction elegant, and the thoughts just; but something "of vigour is still to be wished, which it might have had by brevity and compression." Too true, indeed!

Ah! if we could all "squeeze out the whey," as a judicious friend advised Southey, "a poet, you remember, poet laureate, and representative of all the race."

But what is this the genial Doctor says? "His blank verses, those that can "read them may probably find to be like the blank verses of his neighbours." Well, well! What would the doctor have said to Tennyson and Browning?

But who are my neighbours? We may guess the poet would ask aghast at such a Saturday Reviewer's manner. Why Thomson, of "The Seasons," and Young, of "Night Thoughts," are neighbouring names on the contents page of the "Lives of the English Poets."

"Is thy ambition sweating for a rhyme?
Thou unambitious fool at this late time?
A fool at forty is a fool indeed."

The subject poem of "Love and Honour" is derived from the old ballad. "Did "you not hear of a Spanish lady?" says the doctor, "Who like a packhorse tires "without his bells," "I wish it well enough to wish it were in rhyme."

The "Schoolmistress" is surely the most pleasing of Shenstone's performances. The adoption of a particular style in light and short compositions, contributes much to the increase of pleasure. We are entertained at once with two imitations—of nature in the sentiments, of the original author in the style; and between them the mind is kept in perpetual employment.

The Doctor's summing up is this:—"The general recommendation of Shenstone

"is easiness and simplicity; his general defect is want of comprehension and variety. "Had his mind been better stored with knowledge, whether he could have been "great, I know not; he could certainly have been agreeable."

Let me place on record against the great censor's severe verdict, this of the true poetess, Mrs. Barrett Browning, "Surely it is an accomplishment to utter a "pretty thought so simply that the world is forced to remember it, and that gift "was Shenstone's; and he the most poetic of country gentlemen. May every shrub "on the lawn of Leasowes be evergreen to his brow."

Dr. Johnson's comment on Shenstone's hobby is far from sympathetic, but the paragraph is worth quoting entire:—"Now was excited his delight in rural pleasures, "and his ambition of rural elegance. He began from this time to point his prospects, "to diversify his surfaces, to entangle his walks, and to wind his waters, which he "did with such judgment and such fancy, as made his little domain the envy of "the great and the admiration of the skilful; a place to be visited by travellers "and copied by designers. Whether to plant a walk in undulating curves and "to place a bench at every turn where there is an object to catch the view; to "make water run where it will be heard, and to stagnate where it will be seen; to "leave intervals where the eye may be pleased, and to thicken the plantations "where there is something to be hidden; demands any great powers of mind I "will not enquire. Perhaps a sullen and surly speculator (Dear doctor, don't be "too hard upon yourself) may think such performances rather the sport than the "business of human reason. But it must be confessed that to embellish the form "of nature is an innocent amusement, and some praise must be allowed by the "most supercilious observer to him who does best, what such multitudes are "contending to do well."

This praise was the praise of Shenstone; but like all other modes of felicity, it was not enjoyed without its abatements,

Lyttelton, at Hagley Park, was his neighbour and his rival, whose empire spacious and opulent looked with disdain on the *petty state* that *appeared behind* it. For awhile the inhabitants of Hagley affected to tell their acquaintance of the little fellow who was trying to make himself admired; but when by degrees the Leasowes forced themselves into notice, they took care to defeat the curiosity which they could not suppress, by conducting their visitants perversely to inconvenient points of view, and introducing them at the wrong end of a walk to detect a deception, injuries of which Shenstone would heavily complain. Where there is emulation there will be vanity; and where there is vanity there will be folly.

The pleasure of Shenstone was all in his eye. He valued what he valued merely for its looks; nothing raised his indignation more than to ask if there were any fishes in his water. His house was mean, and he did not improve it; his care was of his grounds. When he came home from his walks he might find his floors

flooded by a shower through the broken roof, but he could spare no money for its reparation.

In time his expenses brought clamours about him that overpowered the lambs' bleat and the linnets' song, and his groves were haunted by beings very different from fauns and fairies. He spent his estate in adorning it, and his death was probably hastened by his anxieties. He was a lamp that spent its oil in blazing.

In one of his delightful Essays, Oliver Goldsmith describes the subsequent tenants of the Leasowes; and visiting the beautiful gardens speaks of the late Mr. Shenstone as "possessed of that warm imagination which made him ever foremost in the pursuit "of flying happiness." "Could he," mused Goldsmith, "have foreseen the end of "all his schemes, for whom he was improving, and what changes his designs were "to undergo, he would have scarcely amused his innocent life with what for several "years employed him in a most harmless manner, and abridged his scanty fortune. "A true picture of sublunary vicissitude!"

As I turned my back upon a beautiful piece of water, enlivened with cascades and rockwork, and entering a dark walk, by which ran a prattling brook, the Genius of the place appeared before me, but more resembling the God of Time than him more peculiarly appointed to the care of gardens. Instead of shears, he bore a scythe, and he appeared rather with the implements of husbandry than those of a modern gardener.

Having remembered this place in its pristine beauty, I could not help condoling with him on its present ruinous situation. I spoke to him of the many alterations which had been made, and all for the worse; of the many shades which had been taken away, of the bowers that were destroyed by neglect, and the hedgerows that were spoiled by clipping. The genius, with a sigh, received my condolement, and assured me that he was equally a martyr to ignorance and taste, to refinement and rusticity.

Seeing me desirous of knowing further, he went on—"You see in the place "before you the paternal inheritance of a poet; and, to a man content with little, "fully sufficient for his subsistence; but a strong imagination and a long acquaintance "with the rich are dangerous foes to contentment."

Our poet, instead of sitting down to enjoy life, resolved to prepare for its future enjoyment, and set about converting a place of profit into a scene of pleasure. This he at first supposed could be accomplished at a small expense, and he was willing for awhile to stint his income to have an opportunity of displaying his taste. The improvement in this manner went forward; one beauty attained led him to wish for some other, but still he hoped that every emendation would be the last. It was now therefore found that the improvement exceeded the subsidy—that the place was grown too large and too fine for the inhabitant. But that pride

which was once exhibited could not retire; the garden was made for the owner, and though it was become unfit for him, he could not willingly resign it to another. Thus the first idea of its beauties contributing to the happiness of his life was found unfaithful; so that instead of looking within for satisfaction he began to think of having recourse to the praises of those who came to visit his improvement.

The gardens were then open to the visits of every stranger, and the country flocked round to walk, to criticise, to admire, and to do mischief. His hedges were broken, his statues and urns defaced, and his lawns worn bare. It was necessary to shut up the gardens once more, and to deprive the public of that happiness which had before ceased to be his own.

In this situation the poet contiuned for a time in the character of a jealous lover, fond of the beauty he keeps, but unable to supply the extravagance of every demand. The garden by this time was completely grown and finished; the marks of art were covered up by the luxuriance of nature; the winding walks were grown dark; the brook assumed a natural selvage; and the rocks were covered with moss. Nothing now remained but to enjoy the beauties of the place, when the poor poet died, and his garden was obliged to be sold for the benefit of those who had contributed to its embellishment.

The beauties of the place had now for some time been celebrated as well in prose as in verse, and all men of taste wished for so envied a spot, where every turn was marked with the poet's pencil, and every walk awakened genius and meditation. The first purchaser was one Mr. Truepenny, a button maker, who was possessed of three thousand pounds, and was willing also to be possessed of taste and genius. As the poet's ideas were for the natural wildness of the landscape, the button maker's were for the more regular productions of art. He conceived, perhaps, that as it is a beauty in a button to be of a regular pattern, so the same regularity ought to obtain in a landscape. Be this as it will, he employed the shears to some purpose; he clipped up the hedges, cut down the gloomy walks, made vistas upon the stables and hogsties, and showed his friends that a man of taste should always be doing.

The next candidate for taste and genius was the Captain of a Ship, who bought the garden because the former possessor could find nothing more to mend—but unfortunately he had taste too. His great passion lay in building, in making Chinese temples, and cage-work summer-houses. As the place before had an appearance of retirement, and inspired meditation, he gave it a more peopled air; every turning presented a cottage, or ice-house, or a temple; the improvement was converted into a little city, and it only wanted inhabitants to give it the air of a village in the East Indies.

In this manner, in less than ten years, the improvement has gone through the hands of as many proprietors, who were all willing to have taste, and to show their taste too. As the place had received its best finishing from the hand of the

first possessor, so every innovator only lent a hand to do mischief. Those parts which were obscured have been enlightened; those walks which led naturally have been twisted into serpentine windings. The colour of the flowers of the field is not more various than the variety of tastes that have been employed here, and all in direct contradiction to the original aim of the first improver. Could the original possessor but revive, with what a sorrowful heart would he look upon his favourite spot again! He could scarcely recollect a dryad or a wood nymph of his former acquaintance, and might perhaps find himself as much a stranger in his own plantation as in the deserts of Siberia.

In Vol. II. of Dodsley's "The Works in Verse and Prose of Wm. Shenstone, Esq.," published 1764, "with decorations" is a map to face page 333, with references partly by letters, and with numbers up to 40 of noteworthy points of view, to enable the reader to form some idea of the scheme of the author of the Leasowes. What Dodsley calls "this slight attempt to perpetuate those beauties, which time, or the "different tastes of some future possessor may destroy."

The decorations include a frontispiece showing Apollo with sandalled feet, flowing locks resting on his shoulder, and lyre in hand, bestowing a laurel wreath on the brow of the poet, whose form is clad in strange garb of a shirt of decent length, but wrapt round plaid fashion by costly furs, leaving the right arm unencumbered to touch the keys of a lofty harp—Daphne, half blooming maid, half branching laurel boughs, forms the curving side of this instrument. Dolphins, tripod-wise, support the wonderful structure. A kingfisher, well engraved, beside a stream too small in scale, forms the vignette. "Flumina amem silvasque inglorius," is the motto on a twining ribband.

The frontispiece of Vol. I. is a portrait of the Bard with the eyes dark and expressive, bare throat, Byronic, terminating as a bust on pedestal with wreathed inscription, "Wm. Shenstone, Esq.," with branch of palm and rose garland twined round a lyre surmounted by a scallop shell. Panpipes lie against the other side. Motto from Virgil—"His ego longos cantando puerum memini me condere soles."

I give here the copy of this plan of the grounds, and had intended adding some of the descriptions of what we might call the stations on the tourist's route through this pilgrimage. But I should soon weary myself and reader, and can only cull here and there a flower of Dodsley's eloquent praise of his friend's work. He says, "The paternal estate was never distinguished for any peculiar beauties, "till the time of its late owner. It was reserved for a person of his ingenuity both "to discover and improve them, which he has done so effectually that it is now "considered as among the principal of those delightful scenes, which persons of "taste in the present age are desirous to see. Far from violating its natural "beauties, Mr. Shenstone's only study was to give them their full effect. And "although the form in which things now appear be indeed the consequence of "much thought and labour, yet the hand of art is no way visible, either in the

"shape of ground, the disposition of trees, or (which are here so numerous and "striking) the romantic fall of his cascades."

"About half a mile short of Halesowen, in your way from Birmingham to "Bewdley, you quit the great road (at No. 1) and turn into a green lane on the "left hand, where descending in a winding manner to the bottom of a deep valley "finely shaded, the first object that occurs is a kind of ruinated wall, and a small "gate, within an arch, inscribed The Priory Gate (No. 2). Here it seems the "company should properly begin their walk." Further on "at the bottom of the "fine swelling lawn that surrounds the house you enter upon a winding path with "a piece of water on your right. The path and water, overshadowed with trees "that grow upon the slopes of this narrow dingle, render the scene at once cool, "gloomy, solemn, and sequestered, and form so striking a contrast to the lively "scene you have just left, that you seem all on a sudden landed in a subterraneous "kind of region." Then follow the lines on a tablet (No. 4):—

"Here in cool grot, and mossy cell,
We rural fays and fairies dwell;
Tho' rarely seen by mortal eye,
When the pale moon ascending high,
Darts through yon limes her quivering beams,
We frisk it near these crystal streams,"

and so forth. Leaving this abode of fairies, deep in this romantic valley, we come upon "tall trees, high irregular ground, and rugged scars." On the right the most natural, if not the most striking, of the many cascades here found; on the left a sloping grove of oaks. The centre presents you "with a pretty circular landskip," appearing through the trees, of which Halesowen steeple and other objects at a distance form an interesting part. Again, "a striking vista"—"villages and varied "ground"—beyond, "a water scene, where the ends of it are lost in two valleys "on each side," intended to be "invisibly connected with another piece of water "of about twenty acres," part of the monks' "prodigious chain of fish ponds that "belonged to Hales Abbey."

From No. 12 the eye is presented with a fairy vision consisting of an irregular and romantic fall of water, very unusual, and one hundred and fifty yards in continuity, etc. "This scene, though comparatively small, is yet aggrandized with "so much art that we forget the quantity of water which flows through this close "and overshadowed valley, and are so much transported with the intricacy of scene "and the concealed height from whence it flows, that we, without reflection, add "the idea of magnificence to that of beauty." Then as you "scale the hill" you find "woods and lawns, hills and valleys, thicket and plain, agreeably intermingled," and on "to blue distant mountains that skirt the horizon," and so on for 38 pages; till on page 390 we read verses signed Corydon—

"Propitious Earth! lie lightly on his head,
And ever on his tomb thy vernal glories spread!

and yet again

"His Phillis was fond of his praise,
And poets came round in a throng;
They listened and envied his lays,
But which of them equalled his song?
Ye shepherds, henceforward be mute,
For lost is the Pastoral strain;
So give me my Corydon's flute,
And thus—let me break it in twain."

From No. 18, over-arched by "a clump of stately firs" on the summit of a circular green hill is an octagonal seat, whence "the Wrekin, that large and venerable "hill, appears full in front at the distance of about thirty miles."

After a page of further praise—"Here we wind thro' a (No. 19) small thicket, "and soon enter a cavity in the hill filled with trees, in the corner of which is a "seat, from whence is discovered gleaming across the trees a considerable length "of the serpentine stream before-mentioned, running under a slight rustic bridge "to the right. Hence we ascend in a kind of gothic alcove (No. 20) looking down "a slope, sided with large oaks and tall beeches, which together overarch the scene, "forming a landskip fit for the pencil of Salvator Rosa."

At least Dodsley's power with his pen exceeds his artist's as a landscape painter; as with seeing eye and understanding heart he has taken the naiad by the hand and led her an irregular dance into the valley. How one begins to sympathise with Carlyle, "Come let us make a description!" but courage! 'finis' is in view on page 390, and we must remember here was a pioneer of the new school of taste—nature and the romantic to supersede the abuse of classic formality—"Adam and Eve in evergreen—Adam somewhat damaged by the fall of the tree of knowledge."

Crick and Astley: Two Sister Churches.

BY WALTER J. CHURCHILL.

February 22nd, 1899.

EORGE ELIOT has told us how Mr. Gilfil, the Vicar, having read one sermon at Shepperton, "rode with the other in his pocket to Knebley, "where he officiated in a wonderful little church "with a checquered pavement which had once "rung to the iron tread of military monks, with "coats of arms in clusters on the lofty roof, "marble warriors and their wives without noses "occupying a large proportion of the area, and "the 12 Apostles with their heads very much "on one side holding didactic ribbons painted "in fresco on the walls."

Most of my audience will at once recognize this description of Astley Church, which was visited by this Society in 1876. It may be characterised as Astley Church in a nutshell. Astley Church lies not far from the Midland Railway, about half way between Whitacre and Nuneaton, and not very far from George Eliot's birth-place.

At first sight it is a very singular looking village church, it has the usual outfit of tower, nave, and chancel, but there is something strange about its appearance, and well there may be, for it possesses an unusual history. The nave dates from the curvilinear decorated period of the 14th century, while the tower is a building of the 17th century, and the chancel bears the date 1608. Warwickshire has plenty of examples of perpendicular work, some Norman, and a little Early English, but in Astley we have one of the few examples of fine curvilinear decorated work in the county.

We have spoken of the Nave, but what is now the nave was built as the *chancel* of a large collegiate church, with a central tower, nave, and transepts, recalling to our minds the proportions of such churches as Wolverhampton or Stratford-on-Avon.

When our Society visited Crick in 1897 it was observed that there was more than a chance resemblance between that church and Astley, and it has been thought that a paper pointing out these resemblances would be useful. We are indebted to Dugdale for the key wherewith to unlock the history and connection between the two churches. Before the Conquest, Astley, then and for several generations spelt with an E, belonged to the Earl of Mellent, whose possessions passed to the 1st Earl of Warwick after the Conquest. Philip de Estley is the first lord of whom we have documentary evidence; 12 Henry II. His son, Alaric Thomas de Estley, married, 9 John, 1207, Matilda, sister and co-heiress of Roger de Camville, who held the manor of Crick, which thus passed into the Astley family. His grandson, Thomas, was killed at the battle of Evesham, fighting against the king, and his estates were estreated, but his son and grandson were king's men and recovered the estates, and were succeeded by Sir Thomas de Astley, who in 19 Edward II., married Elizabeth, daughter of Guy de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick. He was the founder of Astley Church, and left an only daughter, Johanna, who married Reginald Grey de Ruthen. Her descendants include the Lords Grey de Groby, now represented by Lord Stamford and Warrington, the Marquis of Dorset, and Duke of Suffolk, who married the daughter of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, by Mary Queen Dowager of France, daughter of King Henry VII., and who was the father of the illfated Lady Jane Grey.

Sir Thomas de Astley tried to do good in his lifetime. In the 2nd year of Edward III. he endowed a chantry with one priest to sing Mass daily for his soul and the soul of his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Guy de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, as also for the souls of his father and mother and all the faithful deceased, and to which he had license for the amortising of eight messuages, two carucates of land pasture for two horses and four oxen, cvi s. viijd. rent, with the appurtenances lying in Ashley, Wolvey, Milverton, and Willughby juxta Dunchurch. The license for amortising was necessary, in consequence of the statutes in Mortmain, which were passed to prevent the man who held land under feudal obligations giving up his land to the Church.

Again, ten years afterwards, he had license to grant the advowson of the Church at Astley to the warden and priests of the Chapel of our Blessed Lady therein, which chantry consisted of four secular priests, one being the warden. Two years afterwards he obtained license to increase the number to seven priests and one clerk, by amortising two messuages, three yards of land, two acres of wood, and 2s.8d. rent in Withibrook, Hapsford, and Bedworth. Finally, in 1342, he procured license of the King for the changing these chantry priests into a dean and secular canons, and to grant to them and their successors the patronage of the Church of Hillmorton. Whereupon he then began to erect a most fair and beautiful Collegiate church in form of a cross with a tall spire covered with lead, and gave further rents out of lands in Silburn and Crick, at Shustoke, Fillongley and Nun Eaton; moreover, Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, granted the Church of Long Stanton, Cambridgeshire,

to the canons of Astley. Here we see how rectories were converted into vicarages for the benefit of a college or monastery, which thereupon put in a poor vicar to minister to the parish which raised the endowment. When Henry VIII. dissolved the monasteries the rectorial tithes were not restored to the parishes, but were given to some greedy courtier, and to this day we often find lay rectors and poor vicars. Hillmorton and Long Stanton above-mentioned are still vicarages.

Several generations after this, the descendant of Johanna, Henry Grey, then Marquis of Dorset, was created Duke of Suffolk, having married the Lady Frances, eldest daughter to Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, and Mary Queen of France, his wife, who had a claim to the throne of England. "In whose days" (says Dugdale) "Monasteries were dissolved; for effecting which work his father-in-law, Ch. "Brandon, was not a little active, as may appear by the large share which he had "in their possessions, and there want not circumstances to show that this Henry, then "Marquis of Dorset, was stirring enough therein, for among other lands belonging "to those religious houses, he had all that appertained to this Collegiate Church "granted to him, and to the Lady Frances, his wife, their heirs, &c., which he enjoyed "not long, for having issue only 3 daughters, of whom Jane married Guildford "Dudley, 4th son of the Duke of Northumberland, upon the death of King "Edward VI. he was allured, through ambition, to countenance the proclaiming of "his daughter, The Lady Jane, to be Queen, pretending the designation of King "Edward by his will. Which attempt not thriving, Northumberland and some others "lost their heads. Howbeit, the Duke of Suffolk, though favoured as not being so "special an instrument therein as the other, could not rest quiet it seems, for finding "that Queen Mary had a purpose to mate with Philip, he came into this county and "Leicestershire and set out proclamations to incense people against it. Whereupon "the Earl of Huntingdon was sent with a power into these parts, which occasioned "Suffolk, seeing he was forsaken, to put himself into the trust of one Underwood, a "keeper of his park here at Astley, who hid him for some days in a large hollow tree "there, but being promised a reward betrayed him, so that it was not long ere he lost "his head at Tower Hill. After which the Lady Frances, his widow, married to one "Adrian Stokes, Esq., who holding this lordship as part of her dower, much defaced "the church before specified, as not only by tradition of the inhabitants, but by a "presentment upon oath, 1 Eliz^th^. He caused the tall and costly spire made of "timber with the battlements, all covered with lead, to be pulled down, being a land "mark so eminent in this part of the woodland where ways are not easy to hit, that "it was called the Lanthorn of Arden. As also the two fair aisles and a goodly "building, called St. Anne's Chapel adjoining, the roofs of which were also leaded. "By reason of which sacriligeous action the steeple standing in the midst took wet, "so that about the year 1600 it fell down to the ground, and with it a great part of "the church. Richard Chamberlain being then Lord of the Manor (of the family of "Chamberlain, of Shirburn Castle, Oxfordshire), who with some help from the county, "did about 1607, begin the building of the tower again, but instead thereof took

" totally away all the west part of the church, with north and south transepts, making " that which was the quire the body of the church, but pulled down the other beautiful " chapels on the north and south sides of the quire, setting up that which was on the " north at the east end for a chancel, wherein had been monuments of Edward Grey, " Viscount Lisle and two wives, and in the south chapel monuments of Thomas Grey, " Marquis of Dorset and his lady, with their statues in alabaster excellently cut."

Dugdale was present at the opening of this tomb, and the body of the Marquis was found quite fresh, being embalmed, after 78 years. It was resolved that the monument should be set up again in the church; howbeit, this good intention afterwards cooled, and the statues of the Marquis and his lady were cast into the belfry, the lady having a coronet on her head. These two monumental figures are now placed in the church as described by G. Eliot.

We have seen that the manor of Crick passed into the Astley family early in the 13th Century; and during the 13th century the nave and south aisle of a handsome church were built at Crick. Of this we have evidence in two piers and arches, and two responds in the south arcade.

The font of Early English or rather late Norman date is a cylindrical bowl covered with rounded figures, half spheres, with a row of zigzag moulding around the top, supported on what have been called monsters or dwarfs, but I believe were originally merely children squatting with their elbows on their knees. There is a font of somewhat similar design at Lewknor, in South Oxfordshire, but the ornaments here are flat rings, and the row of zigzags are round the bottom. It rests on modern stone steps.

In the 14th century, however, the church was much enlarged by the addition of a north aisle, a large chancel, new windows in south aisle, and a tower and spire. Those who visited Crick in 1897 will remember with pleasure a very handsome large village church with much fine and delicate workmanship. The tower and spire, a Northamptonshire broach spire, are of Early Decorated date, much enriched with the ball-flower ornament. The windows of the aisles are of

pure flowing tracery of great beauty, and the chancel is treated with still greater art and loving care. The east window is a fine specimen of curvilinear tracery; it has been carefully restored using the old stone as far as possible so that we can have no doubt but that we have here the original design. The cross on the east gable is original.

The elevation of the south side of the chancel shows two very fine windows of curvilinear style, broad and spacious. The hood mouldings are carried up so

as to appear to support the carved corbel table, which is overshadowed by the roof. The buttresses are worthy of note, having the set offs gabled. We have, I think, always found when we approach a church with gabled buttresses that we are sure to find the interior well worthy of examination. Gabled buttresses are found at Temple Balsall and at Dorchester Abbey. These gablets are puzzling at first sight, but a comparison with those at Astley shows that there was under each gablet a small shield bearing the cinquefoil, the bearing of Astley of Astley, as we shall see when we look at Astley. There can be little doubt but that this fine chancel was built by Sir Thomas Astley, who built and endowed the collegiate church at Astley.

Another feature which must not be forgotten is the beautiful little priest's door, with rich feathery crocketing and a beautiful group of foliage carved on the pediment; it is illustrated in Parker's Glossary.

Let us now compare the south aisle of Astley Church. Here we have similar features but differently composed, this, being the chancel of a large collegiate church, is longer; being 60 feet long, while Crick is 47. So the two broad windows

are replaced by three narrower and taller ones. The tracery is not the same but

similar in character. The weather moulding is carried up into an ogee, and upward to support, as it were, the carved corbel table. The buttress, better preserved than at Crick, show the gablets plainly with the shield under them bearing the Astley cinquefoil.

The interiors of the chancels are no less noteworthy than the exteriors. The chancel of Crick is entered under a broad and lofty arch plainly chamfered, and the floor and side walls project three feet on the nave side of the chancel arch. This, taken with the position of the door leading to the rood screen, seems to show that there was here a galleried rood screen just west of the chancel arch, such as we saw at Ashby St. Ledgers. The chancel is well lighted by a handsome east window, and by the two beautiful windows on the north and south sides.

We have seen the traceries and weather mouldings outside, and we could see the lavish wealth of design bestowed on the interior. These windows have carefully moulded rear arches, supported on very rich corbels composed of foliage and animals. Hood mouldings are carried up into ogees, ending in finials of foliage of unusual size reminding one of a large bridal bouquet. The sedilia, having four canopied stalls, are rich examples of the curvilinear period. Those who visited Crick two years ago will not easily forget this unusually rich chancel.

The old chancel at Astley can only be viewed at too close quarters. Passing under what I believe to be the original chancel arch, we at once come upon the monuments of Lord de L'Isle, and of the remains of the monument of the Marquis of Dorset and his lady. The interior has a flat wooden ceiling, bearing numbers of shields at the intersection of the ribs; these bore originally the arms of the Astleys, but in the last century they were re-painted with those of the Newdigates, one shield, however, bears the cinquefoil of the Astleys.

The north and south windows, three on each side, are treated with rear arches and hood mouldings, supported on foliaged corbels, and here we can see the large finial with its graceful foliage.

The east window is different in style; it is now filled up with lath and plaster, but we can see the tracery both inside and outside. It differs considerably from that of the side windows. It shows that before this church was finished the new style was coming in, which is known to us as the perpendicular. We have seen that Sir Thomas obtained his license to found the College in 1342, and thereupon began to build. It is said that the mediæval church builders always began with the chancel; if that were so in this case, we have here a very early example of the transition. Edington Church, Wilts., is always spoken of as one of the earliest dated examples of the transition. The first stone of Edington was laid in 1352, that is just ten years after Sir Thomas began to build. I do not for a moment think that this tracery was put in when the alterations were made in 1608. It is much to be regretted that the nave was swept away, for that would probably have thrown more light on this interesting point. Architects have suggested, however, that the east window is so late in character that it must have been inserted as a substitute for the original window which may have suffered from some accident.

We notice that the outside of the window has the crocketted weather moulding of the curvilinear style leading up to a finial which supports a rose window. This seems of a plainer character.

There is an interesting doorway leading into a vestry on the north side of the chancel at Crick, which may be compared with a similar door now stopped up which led into a chapel on the north side of Astley. The finial is a human face. The roof and stalls at Crick are all modern. The stalls remain at Astley, but moved from the west end to the east end, probably covering the sedilia, and painted with the 12 apostles holding didactic ribbons, as noticed by George Eliot. These are no doubt

the Protestant decorations of 1608, as also the texts distempered on the walls, with quotations from Barker's Bible, enclosed in ornamental borders, reminding one of some wall decoration in the Charter House at Coventry. Close to the Church is Astley Castle, the remains of the home of Sir Thomas Astley. The front has doubtless been much altered, but the old moat remains and gives a picturesque view on the side next the church. It is by no means improbable that Lady Jane Grey was born here, although another house, Bradgate, near Leicester, claims the credit; but I am not sure that there is much evidence either way.

You will perhaps like to hear that the family of Astley is by no means extinct. Sir Thos. Astley's descendants include Lord Stamford and Warrington, and the collateral branch of the Astleys of Hillmorton includes one Sir John, who fought in notable tournaments at Paris and at Smithfield, illustrated with a whole page engraving in Dugdale, from a picture at Astley, now preserved at Arbury Hall; Sir Jacob Astley, who was a brave and eminent commander of the Royal Army in the Civil War, and for several generations these Astleys represented Norfolk in Parliament. The present head of the family is Baron Hastings, who quarters the cinquefoil of Astley with the Maunche of Hastings.

Epitaphs at Astley.

We have no memorial of the founder at Astley, but a flat stone records the burial of the preserver of the Church.

Nudus exiit ut adventus
Ricardus Chamberlayne
Sola spe restat, qui obiit
Sexta die Novembris A.D. 1654
Quem statim secuta est
Bridgetta (dum vixerunt animi)
Conjux charissima
Eodem nunc sub marmore
Eadem spe restat
Obiit, octava die Martii A.D. 1655.

At Crick there are no ancient monuments, but the sad tragedy recorded on a flat stone in the chancel, and its quaint diction, attract sympathetic interest.

"As a last sad tribute of a husband's grief"
And token of his fondness
And to perpetuate the irreparable loss
Which not only himself, but all surviving relatives now lament;
Sacred to the memory of the best of wives
This stone is placed
Where lies entombed, the dear remains
Of Anne Maria Spier,
Late wif *(sic)* of John Spier, D.D., rector of this parish
Who unhappily died in child-bed

On the twelfth day of April, 1760, aged 24 years.
She was not less conspicuous for the amiableness of her person
Than th' endowments of her mind.
Remarkable for filial duty to her parents,
Tender affection to her family,
And kind complacency to everyone,
Cut off from the blooming hope of a good mother's pleasing care
Like the saints and martyrs of old she was
Made perfect by suffering patiently a death
Not less cruel and tormenting.

Architectural Remains in Warwickshire of a date earlier than the 13th century.

By JETHRO A. COSSINS.

22nd March, 1899.

IF the mere setting up of a great stone on its end could properly be called a work of architecture, the remarkable monolith at Long Compton, called the King's Stone, would come within the scope of my paper; but although it cannot be so regarded, I have ventured to display it on the screen as a not altogether unsuitable frontispiece, because it is the earliest erection in stone that I know of in the county. Of pre-historic and later earthworks, Warwickshire has a very fair share, but there is not, I believe, a fragment of Roman masonry visible in the county. Roman roads traverse it in several directions, and the Watling Street forms a long length of its boundary line. Still it does not appear probable that the Romans settled in what is now the county of Warwick to any extent, the dense forests that covered its northern part having, no doubt, a deterrent influence. The stations at Mancetter, High Cross, Tripontium and Alcester, are situated either adjoining, or very near to, the county boundaries.

Our oldest existing fragments of Architecture are, therefore, with great probability, works of the Saxons.

Before I proceed to describe the early works of Architecture remaining in our county, I shall venture to call to your minds what are the now generally accepted opinions as to the date and origin of the few works that are are supposed to be earlier, say, than 1066, the year of the Norman invasion. Of such there are altogether about ninety buildings, and parts of buildings, in England; unfortunately often but very small parts. They were catalogued by the late Thomas Rickman, and more recently by Mr. E. Godwin and others. Among them the nearly perfect Chapel at Bradford-on-Avon, is one of the earliest and most precious. The church at Brixworth and the towers of Earls Barton and Barnack, in Northamptonshire; St. Benet's, Cambridge; Deerhurst, Gloucestershire; St. Mary-le-Wigford and two others at Lincoln; the churches at Repton, Derbyshire; Sompting, Sussex; Stanton Lacy, Shropshire; and Wootton Wawen, Warwickshire; of which last, more hereafter, are well known and valuable examples of Saxon work.

The grand and venerable tower of Earls' Barton displays nearly every important characteristic of the style. It has the remarkable vertical and diagonal stripes, the alternating long and short quoins, windows divided by baluster-like shafts, and a typical Saxon doorway. The chapel at Bradford-on-Avon is almost unique in the possession of peculiar sunk panels, which appear to have been cut out in the solid stone after the walls were built. There are, however, fragments of similar arches at Milborne Port, Somerset. Bradford-on-Avon Church, it is said, was built by Aldhelm, Bishop of Sherborne, about the very beginning of the 8th century. Many of the details of these buildings are obviously rude copies from Roman remains. When we remember that in the present day, about a thousand years since the time of which I am speaking, we yet have considerable remains of Roman work at Bath, at Chester, at Lincoln, and elsewhere, and that at many other places are fragments of cornices, columns, capitals and bases, arches, &c., we may feel sure that in the two or three centuries preceeding the Norman Invasion, a great many ruined buildings must have remained; probably nearly all rudely designed and executed, but good enough to serve the Saxon builders as examples from which to take copies, still ruder. It is true, the Venerable Bede states that Benedict Biscop, who founded the Monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow, in Northumberland, in 671, "having crossed the sea into Gaul, brought back masons with him to build "a church in the Roman manner, which he much admired," but in those days of difficult communication between distant parts of the country, it is not probable that this influenced the style of building very generally. Probably churches were then commonly built of wood, and that it was the building them with masonry that Biscop thought so remarkable, and admired so much.

There are many good reasons for supposing that as the thousandth year after Christ approached, there was less and less inclination to build churches of a durable character, because of the general belief that the world would come to an end in the year A.D. 1000, and from about the end of the Eighth century until that year, building in stone was very little practised. Soon after the dreaded year had passed, most of the churches in which we find remains of what we now call Saxon work, were built. According to Doomsday Book there were, when that work was compiled, 1700 churches and about 70 monasteries in England. After the Norman Conquest, many of these buildings were, no doubt, re-constructed of more durable materials, and during the next two centuries a vast number of churches were founded and built. Certainly by far the greater part of our present parish churches had then been founded, although in so many of them no traces of the original work can now be found. In addition to these, at least 20 of our Cathedrals were built, and about four hundred and five monasteries were founded, and, presumably, their buildings, at least partially, erected. When one thinks of this enormous amount of building, and remembers that during the same period, castles were being erected all over the land, of nearly two hundred of which remains exist, and that of those built in the time of Stephen above 1,150 were destroyed

by Henry II., and when one considers the smallness of the population at that time, one cannot but be amazed. Remembering that castle walls were 7 to 10 feet thick, that cathedrals were massively built, and on a vast scale, and that the parish churches were proportionately substantial, I confess that I am absolutely unable to understand where all the labour came from. Some men must surely have been left to till the soil, and to carry on other necessary operations. The wonder as to where the money came from to pay for the ecclesiastical buildings, is less, when we learn that for a long time preceding the year 1000 many wealthy people had, in expectation of the dissolution of all worldly things, made over their property to the church, and it appears probable that as but little money had been spent on building churches for a couple of centuries, funds had largely accumulated.

Of pre-Norman architecture in Warwickshire, we have unfortunately but very few examples to which I shall be able to point, but it is likely there are pieces of rubble walling here and there, that may be as early, although I cannot positively pronounce them to be so. As an instance, I will mention a small bit of rough masonry on the north side of Loxley Church, near Stratford-on-Avon, which I strongly suspect to be pre-Norman. There are some courses of herringbone work in it which add to the probability.

The presence of herringbone masonry is generally considered to indicate a very early date. The best example of this kind of walling we have is in the curtain wall which crosses the moat, and carries on its top the only approach to Tamworth Castle.

It is supposed to be a part of the work created here by the great Ethelfleda, anyhow, it is an extremely interesting and valuable example of very early herringbone masonry.

But in the church of Wootton Wawen our most remarkable example of Saxon work is to be found. It consists of the north, south, east, and west arches, carrying the central tower of a church, which probably consisted of chancel, north and south transepts, and nave; though it is quite possible that the north transept was never built. The arch on that side has been walled up to some feet from the floor, and the upper part made into a window.

The four arches are all semi-circular, very narrow, and of lofty proportions.

Sth ARCH
WOOTTON WAWEN.

Unfortunately, only one of them can now be properly seen, as one is hidden by curtains; in another, the peculiarities of the masonry are covered by wood panelling, and on another, the real lines of the arch stones and jambs have been *improved* and falsified by a modern plasterer's "restoration."

Although the openings are nearly alike in their general character, they differ somewhat in the arrangement of the quoins and facings to the piers, and in the arches, all of which appeared to me of so much interest when I, first examined the church, many years ago,—and when the arches could be properly seen, that I was induced to carefully measure and make drawings of them.

I have not been able to ascertain how much of the original walls of the tower remain, because they are covered on the exterior by rough cast, and when I was there I could not get into the upper stories; but a considerable height of the

western side, which is visible from the nave, appears to be of the same period as the arches, all the distinctive characteristics of which are such as are now generally agreed to be called Saxon. You will observe in the arches the tall thin stones set on end to face the jambs, the narrow band-like voussoirs of the arches, and the long and curiously arranged key-like stones at the crown. There are good reasons for believing that a considerable part of the north wall of the nave is of the same date as the tower, and the remains of a north door of unusual character and proportions are of very early date.

On the outside of this piece of wall one may note the rude character of the masonry, in which, very near the ground, is a small piece of herringbone work. The western wall may be of the same early date, and in it is a small rectangular doorway with a massive lintel, which by some is supposed to be also a part of the original building.

Wootton Wawen, as we learn from Dugdale, is generally supposed to have derived its name from a Saxon proprietor, Wagen, or Wawen. He is said to have been a man of great wealth and consequence, and was dispossessed at the Conquest; and as in Doomsday, Wootton is said to have had a church and two mills, it seems natural to suppose that Wawen founded or built the older parts of the existing church, but the late E. Godwin, Mr. Parker, and some others, were of opinion that the church was built immediately after the Conquest by Robert de Tonei. The window on the north side of the nave may be as old as the lower part of the wall, or it may be later, one can only judge approximately of the date of such very rude constructions; windows just like this are found associated with quite late Norman work, an example of which you may see in a part of the tower of Salford Prior Church, where a little, rudely constructed window stands over another of quite an elaborate character, which does not appear to be a later insertion.

Norman Architecture.

Of the general characteristics of Norman work, I need say but little, as most of you are familiar with them.

To me it is a very beautiful and interesting style, wonderfully full of variety, graduating from the severe and simple square angled jamb and arch, such as we find in the arcade of St. Alban's Abbey, to the elaborate shafted and enriched doors of Iffley, Tutbury, and Beaudesert; and from the plain cylindrical pier and cushioned capital and square sectioned arch to the rich arcades of Durham, Hereford, and Norwich, and the exquistely carved remains of the chapel at Shobdon.

The earliest Norman work, soon after the Conquest, was of a plain and very severe character, with square unmoulded sections in the arches, wide mortar joints in the masonry, and a severely simple kind of capital, but it advanced rapidly, and the details often became very rich and elaborate. On the doorways especially great labour was spent. They were sometimes very deeply recessed, and enriched by columns in the jambs, and by a wonderful profusion of carved ornaments in the arches, of which the varieties are so numerous as to have baffled the compilers of handbooks and glossaries to classify and name them. It may however be generally accepted as an indication of early work when the enrichments are of a simple mechanical kind and rather shallow. Later on, conventional foliage and rudely carved heads of animals and even whole figures of men and animals were occasionally used in the jambs and arches.

But although, as I have said, the earlier work is distinguished by rudeness and simplicity, the work having been executed with the axe or pick, capitals are not uncommon which display very interesting survivals of their Roman prototypes, of which the volutes at the corners, supporting the abacus, are perhaps the most striking feature. It is probable that the volute, as applied to the capital, is the oldest, and has been the most continuously employed of any architectural detail in the world: originating in Egypt or India, it descended through the whole career of Grecian, Roman, and Mediæval Art, and is still used every day in a great number of our modern buildings. Rude imitations of the acanthus leaf are also not uncommon in quite early work.

Although, as already stated, a severe simplicity of treatment generally indicates early Norman, there is plenty of later work which is also very simple, and even rude, a practised eye can however generally distinguish the earlier, because of certain peculiarities of execution, the result, chiefly, of its having been hewn with the axe. But on the other hand, an exuberant display of detail and fineness of finish are never found in work of the 11th and the beginning of the 12th century.

There are in Warwickshire about 240 ancient churches and chapels, and in 81 of these I have found Norman remains. It is probable that in many more there are bits of walling and even windows and other details hidden beneath plaster.

We have in the arcade of three arches to the north aisle of Bickenhill Church a very characteristic bit of early Norman; the section of the arch is square, of one course, the stones roughly hewn, with wide mortar joints, and the stones do not

run through the whole thickness of the wall, but are used as quoins, the intermediate parts being constructed of rubble and plastered.

Polesworth Church, once belonging to a Nunnery, of the buildings of which it formed a part, has an arcade of early character with square sectioned arches, cylindrical pillars, and heavy scalloped capitals, but the execution is less rude than at Bickenhill. Dugdale says this Nunnery was the first established religious house in all England. The other remains of this early church are the Clerestory, now included within the roof of the aisle, and a much decayed doorway which opened on the south side of the nave to the cloisters. Not far to the north from the church are some much mutilated, but interesting, Norman remains of the gateway to the abbey precincts, and of the porter's lodge. I am sorry to say the church has been restored, and the old masonry greviously re-tooled, and made to look as new as was possible.

At Cubbington, near Leamington, there is a very perfect arcade of three arches of two courses or rings. The method of constructing arches by a succession of superimposed courses, each projecting beyond the last, with a continuation of the

arrangement in the piers and jambs leaving rectangular nooks, is the chief source from which the rich effects of the Norman arcades and doorways are derived. It exists in a primitive and elementary form in the arcades of St. Alban's Abbey, where the pillars and arches are of Roman bricks from the ancient Verulam. It will easily be seen that when the projecting angles were wrought into shafts, and the corresponding edges and surfaces of the arch rings were enriched by mouldings and carved ornaments, the thickness of the wall was the only limit to the richness of effect attainable. In smaller churches of the Norman period this very obvious means of elaboration is most commonly found in chancel arches and doorways but in the largest churches, in the arcades, and often also in the windows.

At Wyken Church is a good plain example of a doorway with an arch of two courses, both severely rectangular, the outer only, carried by shafts with simple scalloped capitals. This doorway has been removed to its present position from the south side of the Nave.

There is another at Ansley, where the arch instead of being like the last, rectangular in section, is wrought into a heavy roll moulding. This doorway

possesses what there is every reason to believe is the original door and band hinges. Norman doorways are numerous in the county; in many the door only extended to the springing of the arch, the semicircular head being filled in with a solid stone tympanum, offering a field for carved enrichments which was rarely neglected; we shall meet with several of these further on.

In the very interesting little chnrch at Corley are some good Norman features; the south doorway, of unusually tall proportions, has shafted jambs, a well-moulded and curiously enriched arch, and a tympanum covered by a very intricate and rich diaper pattern. There is a curious and apparently very early arcade of two arches to the north aisle, and a small widely splayed window over it, which is obviously older, as when the aisle and arcade were added, the openings through the wall to admit the arches were cut out with such great care that those parts of the window that did not come actually within the line of the arch remained undisturbed. There is a somewhat similar window on the south side, and these were probably the only windows in the side walls of the nave.

The very small dimensions of these lights, their high position in the walls, and some peculiarities of construction, have led some people to suppose they are of a date very early in the eleventh century, or perhaps even earlier. This church was enlarged and restored in 1884, and much of its primitive quaintness and interest has thereby been lost. The chancel is of the 14th century.

Corley is not the only church which shows the singular dexterity of the mediæval builders in cutting neatly through solid thick walls, and inserting the arches of an arcade without disturbing the masonry outside the line of the cutting. There are good examples at Lapworth, and at Tysoe, each of which churches were originally without aisles, with narrow windows placed very high in the walls.

Curdworth Church retains the greater part of the original Norman walls, but the west end was pulled down in the 14th century to add to the length of the nave. There is enough left of the old building to enable me to restore (on paper) the plan, and the south and north elevations. It is an exceedingly instructive example of a small Norman church. The chancel arch remains quite perfect. Of the south door only one jamb and a small part of the arch remains, but enough to show us what the whole was like, the arch decorated with the cat head enrichment and the shafts with very singular and unusual annular projections.

This church has lately been restored, and during the operation some of the original narrow, wide-splayed windows that had been walled up were opened, and the jambs and arches were found to have retained distemper decorations of probably late 12th century character, in a fair state of preservation, and of very interesting character.

Another of the valuable remains of the Norman church then brought to light is the original font, an extremely interesting example, though somewhat mutilated. It was found buried beneath the floor of the nave, where, it is supposed,

it was put at the Reformation, and a plain bowl then substituted. The old font has, however, undergone resurrection, and now in triumph surmounts the usurper of its place, which, turned upside down, forms a pedestal for its venerable predecessor, an example of how the "whirligig of time brings about its revenges" and its reversals.

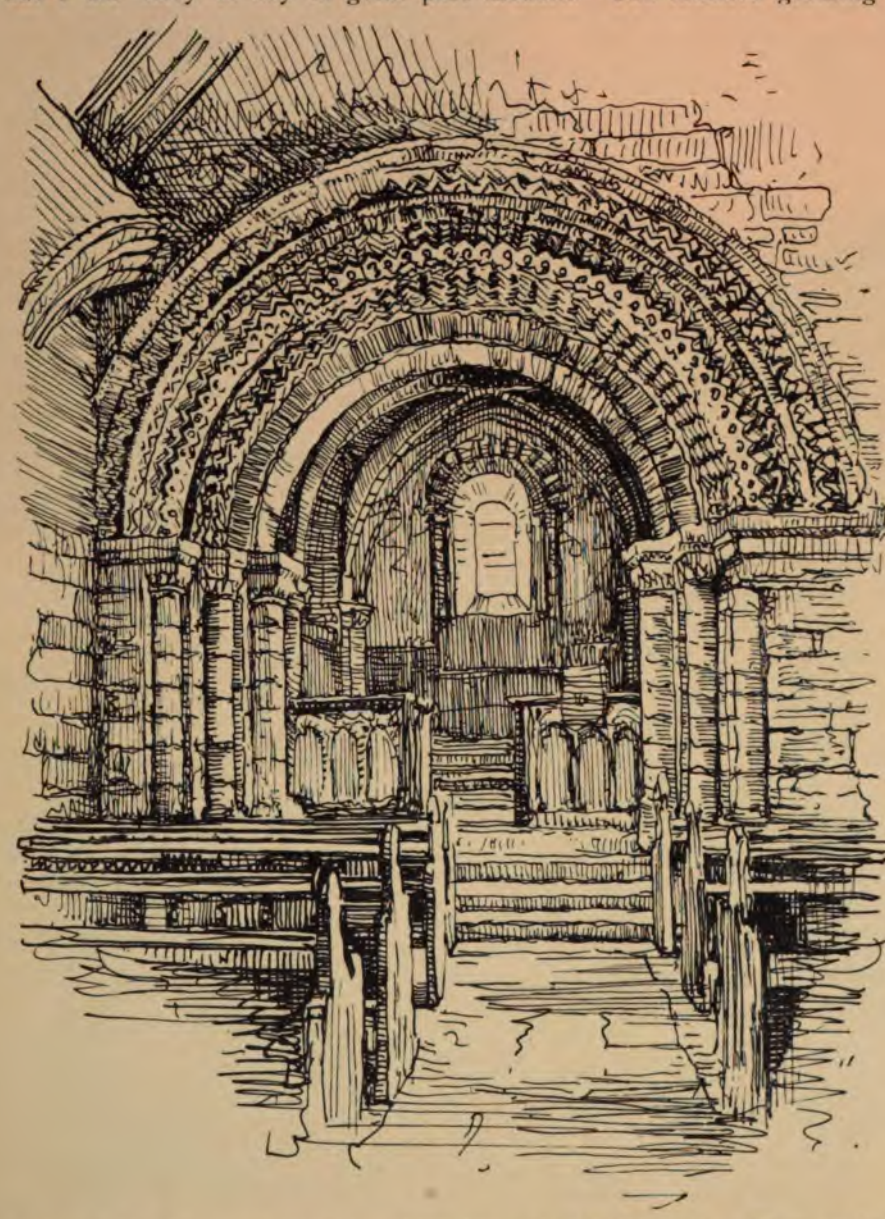
There was a very interesting little twelfth century church at Baddesley Ensor, of which, fortunately, a sketch is preserved in the Aylesford Collection, but sad to say the church itself has been entirely rebuilt.

At Preston Bagot is a considerable part of a small Norman aisleless church, retaining many original windows of very rude character, the heads cut out of a single stone, the external edges left quite square.

Kingsbury Church retains in the north arcade, Norman pillars of the common cylindrical kind, with a remarkably beautiful carved capital. The Norman chancel arch was replaced some few years ago by a hideous, very much stilted, pointed arch, evidently the work of some presumptuous and ignorant amateur architect.

Perhaps the richest Norman work remaining in Warwickshire is in the little Church of Beaudesert, just beneath the mound on which once stood the important castle built by Thurstan de Montfort, shortly after the Norman Conquest, and possessed by his descendants through many generations. There can be no doubt that this was the castle church, and that it was built by the Montforts. The very beautiful east window looked towards the castle, and must have been for three or four hundred years a conspicuous object from its windows and battlements.

The fortress was dismantled during the Wars of the Roses, and not a stone of it remains; the trenches and mounds are however very marked. The little church retains a great deal of the original structure; there is the grand south door, through which generations of the Montforts have probably passed to their baptisms, their marriages, and their burials, and the greater part of the walls remain, within which they worshipped. The chancel arch is remarkably fine and rich, but I am sorry to say in great part modern. The massive groining of the



chancel has only been completed within the last thirty years. The capitals and springers to the arches and groin ribs are however ancient, and there can be no doubt that the original design has been accurately carried out.

the work of the village mason, curiously clumsy, and coarsely executed ; but bearing a delightful character of antiquity. On the North side of the chancel is a very unusual looking window with thick columns, which are, unfortunately modern, but as they fit the capitals and bases we know the old ones were of the same diameter. A look at this window should convince any man of average discrimination of the vanity of attempting what is called restoration. The ancient shafts were chopped out with an axe and but approximately cylindrical, and the great roll moulding of the arch was of the same character, but these new ones are as true and mechanically smooth as they could be made, and associated as they are with work conceived and executed in quite a different spirit, are excessively offensive. It serves, however, as an example of a window of an almost unique character, and derives additional interest from its close association with a slender lancet of the 13th century.

Wolstan Church, near the last, must have been a typical example of a fine cross church of the Norman period, but it apparently now only retains a doorway ; and the lower part of the tower, with the four arches which carry it over the crossing. These are remarkable, chiefly because of the unusually large dimensions of the eastern and western arches, and for the curiously carved capitals appertaining to the western arch, which appear to represent scenes attending the Crucifixion of Christ. The southern arch is narrow and low, and that opposite is pointed, indicating a date late in the 12th century.

The south door has a rugged richness, and a judicious disposition and proportioning of parts which is very striking. The rich reds, browns, and warm greys of the local sandstone, of which it is constructed, add very much to its charming effect.

At Burton Dassett, the only remains of a Norman Church are the north and south doorways ; simple examples, only differing in the patterns of the enrichments. These doors—as, fortunately for us, so often happened—were re-set in the rebuilt church of the next century, when they would have been as good as new.

In Ansley Church, besides the door already described, we have many bits of the original walls, a fine chancel arch, and what I believe to be the second arch, to the sacrarium. On the north side of the nave you will observe a small low circular arch enriched with zigzag ornaments. Within a recess in the wall beneath it, about three feet from the floor, is a stone coffin about two feet long. At first sight one would think this was for a child, but there are reasons for supposing it to have been a heart shrine, or that it held the viscera of some important person who died far away. On the north impost of the chancel arch is a very curious bit of early carving.

At Hartshill, near Nuneaton, are the ruins of the chapel, within the outer walls of the castle. When first I saw it, about twenty years ago, the eastern end was perfect, and contained a simple, but very unusual kind of window, with a circular window in the gable above it. There was also a rare example of a Norman

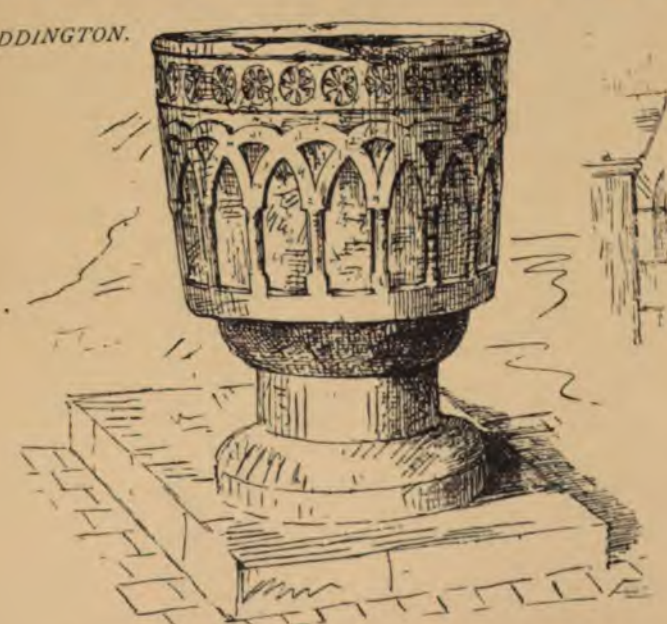
piscina in the usual position on the south side. When I last saw it, the gable had been pulled down, and the circular window destroyed. The occupant of the old house adjoining—the house, by the bye, in which Michael Drayton was born—explained to me what appeared to him a sufficient reason for the destruction of a unique and extremely valuable example of a domestic chapel of the 12th century—"that some stones had fallen from the top and damaged a pig's trough."

Near Tamworth, at the little village of Dosthill, was a small Norman Chapel, quite intact without the insertion of even a later window or door, a plain but charming example. But some years ago it was thought desirable by the village authorities to straighten a lane, and the chancel, being somewhat in the way, was pulled down, and the chancel arch walled up.

At Halford Bridge was a Norman Church, of which the north and south doorways and the chancel arch are left. The church has been restored, and the chancel rebuilt. It is fortunate that the funds were very limited, or it is probable the whole of the church would have been destroyed. The chancel arch is small and simple; on the south side of it is a curious cross shaped squint. I have never seen one like it. The north door is a good example, with curiously carved capitals, enriched mouldings, and a tympanum bearing the carved figure of an angel holding a scroll. The south door is much plainer, and having been unprotected by a porch is much decayed.

Oxhill Church has some very interesting Norman remains, the south doorway being especially fine, with a curious corbel table over it. It has some windows enriched within with zig-zag ornament. The font is also of the Norman period with intersecting arches around it, in which are shallow sculptures of conventional foliage and figures of Adam and Eve.

WEDDINGTON.



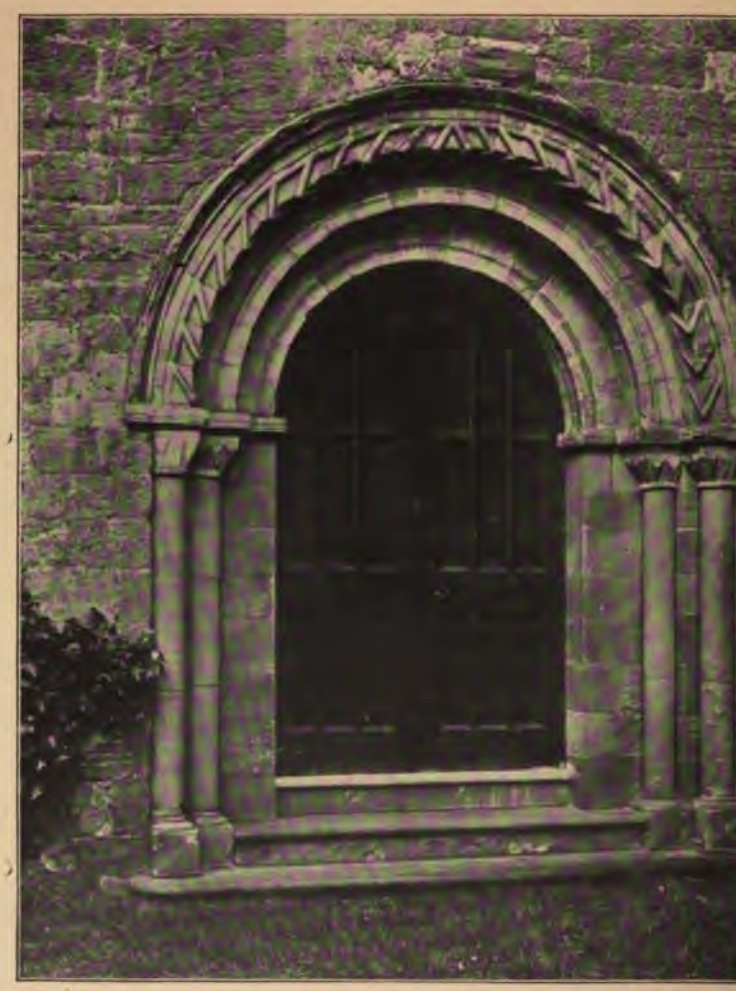
There are many fine Norman fonts existing where there is no other trace of early work; the font now at Sutton, originally belonging to Over Whitacre, is a very good one, though the upper part is modern.

At Weddington, is also a good font. But the well-known example at Coleshill is one of the grandest Norman fonts in the kingdom. There is not, however, so

far as I know, a trace of work in the church, excepting this font, older than the 14th century. There was at Shustoke a grand Norman font, but this was lost in the fire which destroyed the greater part of the church some years ago.

At Stoneleigh Church is a very fine font surrounded by arched niches, containing figures of the Apostles. This is commonly, but erroneously, supposed to have been brought from Maxstoke Priory; and there is the remarkably fine chancel arch to which I have referred, with a great variety of enrichments, one of which, consisting of grotesque heads, is continued in the jambs down to the bases. The lower part of the tower is Norman with a fine arch to the church, but now hidden by a gallery—and the north door is a very good one with carved tympanum though now walled up.

At Stoneleigh Abbey—where, through the kindness of Lord Leigh, I was able to search for remains of the original buildings at my leisure—I found much more of the transitional Norman work than I had expected. The Abbey was founded here for Cistercian monks in 1154. The positions of the Church, the Chapter House, Dormitory, and some other parts can be determined with a fair degree of confidence.



The door which led from the cloisters to the South aisle of the church is a very beautiful example of the transition from Norman to Early English, the modified zig-zag enrichment shewing an approach to the Early English tooth ornament.

The archway, which probably led to the vestibule of the Chapter House, is beautifully proportioned, shafted, and moulded, but has no carved enrichments, save in the capitals, the character of which shews them to have been executed late in the century.

There are several other arches and doors ; two of which, much alike, are now in the housekeeper's apartments, they are of good proportions, well moulded, and have shafted jambs and carved capitals.

At Salford Priors the lower part of the tower is Norman, and contains the interesting windows before referred to. There is also a very beautiful North door which was re-built in its present position when the church was restored. The arcade to the aisle has early pointed arches on massive Norman piers with scalloped capitals.

At Whitchurch there is a picturesque doorway with a panel built in the wall over, carved with the Agnus Dei.

At Ilmington is the largest and most massive Norman tower in the county, with a fine arch to the nave. Here is also a grand chancel arch, a good North door, and fragments of the south doorway ; all deserving careful inspection.

Newbold Pacey Church has been re-built, but the north and south doorways have been preserved and re-fixed. The north is a good bold piece of work with carved capitals, but the south is a very remarkable example, of unusual character.

The very fine doorway built into the western side of the 14th century tower at Kenilworth Church has an enclosing moulding forming a square, an unusual feature. It is too well known to require a minute description.

The western doorway at Shuttington is Transitional, and probably the latest in date of those to which I have called your attention. It has a very interesting late form of the zig-zag ornament.

There is a fine north doorway at Offchurch, and a small window on the south side of the chancel, with the figure of a serpent carved on the solid stone head. This reminds me that a serpent is carved on one of the piers of the chancel arch at Stoneleigh.

I don't know whether any of my audience know the remains of the old church of Alveston, near Stratford-on-Avon. The bit of the old nave that is left looks like the end of a stable from a little distance, but one should never be deterred from investigating any church or fragments of a church because of an uninviting first appearance.

I found in this little building much that is very interesting, the tympanums of two Norman doorways both with very curious carvings. The one I shew, though

much worn, retains the design complete. The other is covered by an intricately involved scroll pattern with figures of the Paschal lamb and other devices. I made a sketch of this many years ago. It is now almost entirely defaced.

The grand imposing keep tower of Kenilworth Castle, founded by Geoffrey de Clinton in 1120, is the only example of Norman military architecture that I can now remember. The present windows are not of the original dimensions, but are the interior recesses of the original windows cut through to increase the light at a later age.

On Some Early Roads of Warwickshire and Worcestershire.

By BERTRAM C. A. WINDLE, M.A., M.D., D.Sc., F.R.S., F.S.A.

November 15th, 1899.

THE Roman occupation of this country was essentially military in its character, and it is not, therefore, surprising that the roads constructed by that people were primarily military in their nature. They were planned no doubt by military engineers, for the rapid transit of troops from one part of the country to another, they were almost certainly constructed mainly by the soldiery, and were under the charge of a special official known as the Curator Viarum. It is no part of my intention here to deal with the general question of Roman roads, but before coming to those especially connected with our district, there are one or two points to which I think it well to call your attention. The usual method of procedure in the construction of a road seems to have been something like this. The engineer first marked out the line of his road by a couple of parallel trenches, usually fifteen feet apart, but sometimes as much as twenty-four or twenty-five. The earth was excavated for a depth of a foot or two, and the process of construction proper could then be commenced. The actual structure of the road depended somewhat on the character of the country through which it ran, for instance in swampy districts where there must have been much timber, the roads were laid on piles and trunks of trees, and such, Mr. Currall, who knows, from personal experience, more about the anatomy of the local roads than any other person, informs me was the method of construction of those in our district. But in other places where lime and stone could easily be secured for the construction of the deeper parts of the road, the layers were more numerous. Thus in a part of the Fosse way the road was found to have been constructed in the following manner. (i.) First there was a layer of hardly-rammed earth, called

Pavimentum, on which was (ii.) a bed of large stones and mortar, the *Statumen*. Upon this lay (iii.) a mass of smaller stones bound together with mortar, the *Ruderatio*, then (iv.) the *Nucleus*, composed of a sort of concrete of broken bricks, tiles, &c., with mortar, and finally (v.) the *Summum Dorsum*, or top of the road finished with stones, taking all the wear and tear of the traffic, and requiring constant attention, just as is the case with our roads of to-day. The roads were sloped from centre to sides, and raised above the level of the surrounding ground, so as to allow the water to flow readily off the surface.

There is a sort of impression on the minds of many persons that straightness is the leading characteristic of a Roman road, and provided that this statement is not pushed too far it is not a bad diagnostic, but I should like to suggest two cautions. First, all straight roads were not made by the Romans, some of the most undeviating highways dating from the time of the great enclosure of the common-lands. Secondly, in some cases, at least, it appears as if in much later times bends had been taken in places out of the Roman roads which have thus been actually made straighter than they were originally planned to be. I do not know of any instance of this in the immediate vicinity of Birmingham, but may mention one from a district a little further south. Many of the members will be familiar with the very straight road which runs from Gloucester, the ancient Glevum, over the Cotswolds at Birdlip, to Cirencester or Corinium, to give it its old name, and will have noticed the manner in which that road ascends the hill. Now if, instead of descending the hill by the modern road, the traveller turns to his left for a few yards up the Painswick Road, he will find on the right of that road a gate which leads into the wood on the escarpment of the hill. The path thus entered upon is the old course of the road between Cirencester and Gloucester. Forming an angle on the side of the hill, it offers a much easier gradient than the present highway, and why or when it was abandoned I do not know. Into or near the angle which it makes there runs a narrow way which led past the Roman villa on Cooper's Hill to Green Street, another very ancient trackway on the same hill.

I have just made use of the term trackway, and before proceeding with a description of the roads with which this paper is concerned, I should like to say a few words on this term. There must have been many trackways across the country, during the British period and during the Roman occupation too, which, though much used, did not rise above the dignity of what we should call a field-path. Of such a character must I think have been at least a good part of what we often read about in books, but are less successful in seeing with our eyes, the saltways of this district. In a recent article on Roman roads in the *Nineteenth Century*, I find this statement, coupled with a presentation on the accompanying map of the roads described. "Another cross-road, formed probably more for commercial "than military purposes, started from Salinae (Droitwich), where the salt springs "were known to and much used by the Romans. Proceeding through Birmingham "(which is not of Roman origin), it reached Watling Street at Wall (Eteocetum)

and went down the Trent Valley by Burton to the suburb of Derby called "Little Chester." The further course of this road is then considered, but with that we are not concerned. Now, so far as the northern part of the road above described is concerned, it is obvious that the writer is dealing with what I am shortly going to describe as the Ryknild Street, but in its southern part this highway goes nowhere near Droitwich, nor have I ever seen or met with any person who has seen a definite line of road corresponding with this portion of the way. I am glad to find that Mr. Howard Pearson is of the same opinion. In a paper on "The Old Roads to Birmingham," published in the Transactions of this Society, he says, "We know definitely of two salt ways running from Droitwich, the "'upper' and 'lower'"; and of these the former would doubtless pass near Birmingham. According to Murray's Guide to Worcestershire, "the Upper Saltway "passed over the Lickey to Birmingham and the sea-coast of Lincolnshire." So also Dr. Giles in Bohn's edition of Richard of Cirencester, says, "The Upper "Saltway . . . . is seen at Stretton on the borders of Warwickshire, from "whence it is easily traced to Birmingham, and over the Lickey to Droitwich." But I must confess I know of no road thus easily identifiable, nor can I find anyone who does. A straight line from Droitwich to Saltfleet in Lincolnshire, would pass somewhat to the south-east of Birmingham, and through Atherstone. Mr. Brassington has found old tradition to the effect that it crossed the Alcester Road at Inkford Brook, and such a course is probable enough, but it would not touch Birmingham. We have, indeed, only to consider what a saltway must have been like, to see how little likely it is to have left any traces of which we can speak positively. It could not be in any sense a made road at all. It would pass through an uncultivated and unenclosed country, with nothing to confine it in a rigid course. While following a fairly direct line from end to end, it would be liable to innumerable local deviations. A thick wood, an awkward hill, a piece of swampy ground, a rock, or even a fallen tree, would infallibly turn it aside. It is quite probable that Mr. Pearson is right, and that the saltway, of which those who are interested in local roads read so much and see so little, was a track of this kind and has totally disappeared. But I think it must be admitted that there were other paths of communication which were not Roman roads in the strict sense of the term, however much they may have been used by the legions of that people, but which were yet definite and not easily obliterated "streets." Such are the hollow ways and passages which led from one British camp to another, of which instances will readily occur to those familiar with the earthworks and their communications in the neighbouring county of Salop. Some of these, more extensive in their course, may probably have been adapted by the Romans for their own purposes and improved as media of communication, and amongst these we probably have to reckon the Ryknild Street. It is indeed quite possible, if not probable, that the greater lines of Roman traffic may have been guided by preexisting ways which had been contrived and utilised by the earlier inhabitants of the country.

Two of the main Roman roads come into our area, these being the Fosse Way and the Watling Street. Of the other two of the "Quatuor Chimini" of Edward the Confessor's laws, Icknield and Ermine Streets, this paper has nothing to say, they not coming in contact with the area with which I am concerned.

The FOSSE WAY ran obliquely across England from the south-west to the north-east, starting at or near Seaton (Moridunum), in Devonshire, but close to the Dorsetshire side of that County, and working its way upwards to Lincoln. I do not propose to speak of any part of it south of the point where it passes north of Bourton-on-the-Water, in Gloucestershire, that is to say of the point where it is left by the Ryknild Street.

From the point in question, it works its way across the Cotswolds, traversing Stow-on-the-Wold and Moreton-in-the-Marsh, and acting as a main highway to the present day. North of the latter town it passes the first place in the area under consideration, which derives a part of its name from its proximity to the road—Stretton-on-the-Fosse. Thence it goes through Halford and crosses the main Stratford and Banbury Road, a little north of Compton Verney. It then crosses Bronson Hill, and in this part of its course is an exceeding narrow and rough lane. It here traverses the ramparts of a nearly obliterated camp, the only one in this part of the road. The memory of this fortification is still retained in the name of the neighbouring village of Chesterton. Further north there is a slight deviation in the road—probably of much later date than the original construction of the way—at Eathorpe. It then passes Stretton-on-Dunsmore, and has a northerly deviation at Brinklow, and just beyond that place a southerly deviation through Stretton-under-Fosse and Street Ashton, both deviations, I think, from the original line of the road. Thence it pursues its way to High Cross, on the boundary of Warwickshire and Leicestershire, where was the Roman Station of Bennones.

The WATLING STREET runs from London north-westwards to Chester, whence a branch went to Carnarvon. It passed through the important Roman city under the shadow of the Wrekin, Uriconium, now represented by the tiny village of Wroxeter. In our perambulation of these roads we first come upon the Watling Street at High Cross, from which point it runs straight on through the perfectly obvious remains of Manduessedum, near Mancetter, until it arrives at Wall, near Lichfield, the ancient Etocetum. Before reaching this place, however, the line of the road is lost for a short distance at the point where it is crossed by the main Lichfield Road.

The third and most interesting of these roads is one which has been known for many years as Icknield Street. What claims it has to that name I do not know, but it is certain that it is no part of the better-known road of that name, for that highway ran from the south-west along the Berkshire downs and terminated in Norfolk, in the region of the Iceni, after whom it is named. Our road is also in

part of its course—it has, as will be seen, a variety of titles—called the RYKNILD STREET, and by that term I think it is better to allude to it and thus save a good deal of confusion.

The Ryknild Street, then, so far as we are concerned with it, leaves the Fosse Way, at Bourton-on-the-Water, and makes a curve with its convexity directed to the west, and embracing within its hollow Upper and Lower Slaughter. In Cary's Map (1797) this portion of the road is called *Salter's Way*, certainly a significent title, in the light of what has been previously said. It then goes over Cutsdean Hill, and runs on the top of the Cotswolds as *Buckle Street*, immediately above Middle Hill. This part of the road is one of the most interesting portions, and should be visited by every one wishing to see what an unaltered part of the track looks like. What this name of Buckle Street means I know not. It is met with in old documents as the Bogilda Way,(1) and I would, with much hesitation, suggest that this term may have been derived from the Latin *Buculus*, an ox, from which Shakespeare got his "bugle eyeballs," as an attribute for Phœbe, in "As you Like It," in which case it would mean, the oxen way, no impossible title for a district in which the old custom of ploughing with a team of oxen still persists. Near the Broadway Tower the main track of road is lost, but I fancy there can be little doubt that it ran close by the camps above Farnham and at Willersey. Beyond this point it can be traced as a green fordrough entering the road between Honeybourne and Broadway, where that highway makes a westward turn. Any person standing at that point will have no difficulty in seeing the Ryknild Street making its way up the hill, by the side of Weston Park, and will easily see how it is that the divergence of the traffic along the main road to Broadway has caused the older road to fall into disuse. From this point the road—here again called *Buckle Street*—runs straight between the two Honeybourns, Cow and Church, to Bidford, where the river was crossed. Thence it proceeds to Wixford, beyond which it ceases to be a drivable road, the main road to Alcester being a deviation, and exists as a green track across the meadows near the river Arrow, and almost parallel with the railway line. It goes close by Alcester, the Roman Alauna, and beyond that town forms the main highroad—and an excellent one—though Coughton and Studley. The former place apparently marks the mediæval limits southwards of the Forest of Arden, if the legend be true that the stump of the cross seen at the corner of Coughton Park, and on this road, is the place at which travellers used to kneel down and pray before adventuring upon the forest and its perils. The houses all along this section are called *Haydon Way*, which must, I think, be taken to have been the old name for this part of the road.

A little beyond Studley the main road to Birmingham leaves the line of the Ryknild Street, which becomes for a number of miles a deserted, yet most interesting

(1) Mr. Howard Pearson suggests to me that the word may be the same as the Scotch "bogle," our "bogie," the "bugge" of old writers, a kind of puck or malevolent fairy. Certainly a very possible solution of the difficulty.

stretch of lane, in places hardly even worthy of this humble name. It is here called locally *Eagle Lane*, obviously a corruption of Icknield Lane. In this part of its course it approaches the river Arrow on its left, and here by the side of the stream are the remains of a singular earthwork, absolutely abutting by one of its sides upon the stream. The ordnance map marks this earthwork, but does not commit itself to any name therefore, or any indication of its age. I understand that this puzzling earthwork is the remains of nothing more ancient than a mill pond. This earthwork is near Ipsley, and a little further on, near Beoley, and on the opposite side of the road, is a much stronger entrenchment on an elevated site, marked on the ordnance map as The Mount, which is apparently the kind of object usually spoken of as a British Camp. The road runs now under Weatheroak Hill, and near here is an inscribed stone, bearing certain letters, and embedded in the right side of the road. Lest any future antiquary should fall into an error similar to that which arose respecting that fragment which bore the words "Bill Stumps, his mark," I will here place it on record that these letters are simply the initials of the names of an unfortunate policeman, whose dead body was found on this spot, he having been murdered by a fowl-stealer, who afterwards paid the penalty of his crime at Worcester Goal. The road now passes over the Forhill, skirts Lifford and merges into *Stirchley Street*, which Mr. Pearson thinks was originally called Streetley, like another place also associated with the same road. Now we arrive at the outskirts of Birmingham, and at this point in our mental journey I suppose many a local archæologist has paused and taxed his ingenuity to ascertain what next to say of the road.

After careful consideration of the evidence, I do not think that any definite traces of the road can be found until we come to Chad Valley, on the Harborne Road. Mr. Pearson has already alluded to the finds at this place, and Mr. Cossins, who made them, tells me that when alterations were in progress in connection with the back yard of Chad Valley House, then in the possession of the late Mr. William Holliday, there was discovered, at a depth of eight feet, an undoubted paved road, formed of stones of the kidney type, closely laid side by side. Taken in conjunction with another find which was made in the grounds of a house then belonging to Mr. James in Chad Road, I think there can be no doubt that we here have the line of the road. Indeed there are said to be traces of it to the present day in the back gardens of some of the houses in Chad Road. This positive evidence must outweigh any mere theoretical ideas, but were it not forthcoming, one would be certainly tempted to imagine that in Vicarage Road we have a more direct line of route, and as matters are, it is difficult to see why that higher line of ground was not selected instead of what must have been the exceedingly swampy area of Chad Valley. From this point there can be little doubt that Monument Lane and its continuation up Hunter's Lane or Road, as it has recently begun to call itself, mark the line of the Ryknild Street, indeed this stretch of highway is still called *Icknield Street.* Beyond Hunter's Road

the line is lost until beyond the River Thame, though I have no doubt that Mr. Pearson is right in supposing that it crossed the stream at or near Holford and thence was identical with Holly Lane. Beyond King's Standing, near Oscott College, the main road leaves the course of the Ryknild Street close to a public-house called the Royal Oak. Thence the old street is quite clearly to be seen making its way, as another untouched part of the road, over Sutton Park to Streetly, a place which obviously derives its name from its connection with the Ryknild Street. In this part of its course the surface of the road is paved with small stones.(1) Beyond Streetly the road can be traced as far as Little Aston, but between that place and Wall, where it crossed the Watling Street, all trace of the track seems to have been lost. Beyond this point it is again to be found, and here for the first time, it receives the name, by which I have called it throughout, of *Riknild Street.* Thus it will be seen that while the road ran through Edgbaston it did not touch the limits of old Birmingham. That place was apparently founded by some band of Saxon wanderers, who, making their way through the fastnesses of the Forest of Arden, turned off, after their manner, to one side of the wood and pitched their homestead on the bank of the river Rea, which would afford them that supply of water which was essential to their settlement.

There are several gaps in this route which it is to be hoped will be filled up by later finds; meantime I must not leave the subject without expressing my acknowledgments to Mr. Pearson's paper, which I have often quoted, for the great assistance which I have derived from its perusal.

(1) Mr. Balden has very kindly called my attention to the following extract from the History of Sutton Coldfield (1891), by the Rev. W. K. R. Bedford:—"More than fifty years ago, the writer traced, on horseback, the course of the road from the Park to Birmingham, but this would be impossible now. Excavations were made some years ago for the purpose of examining the construction of the roadway, which turned out to be chiefly macadamised stone, broken to the size of that now used to metal roads. Shaw speaks of a pavement, but none was met with."

The MSS. Records of Coventry.

By MARY DORMER HARRIS.

December 13th, 1899.

THOUGH the town records of the city of Coventry are of the greatest historical value, they are very little known. Four years ago Mr. Cordy Jeaffreson, of the Record Office, sorted and arranged a great part of this manuscript material. The collection is now in St. Mary's Hall, in the new muniment room built for its reception. It numbers 188 volumes, 89 charters, 18 rolls, 35 writs of exceptional interest, 6265 deeds, and a quantity of miscellaneous matter.(1) It is a nobly representative collection, worthy of the ancient city which played so prominent a part in English history in bygone days.

The only antiquarian who had an extensive acquaintance with this material was the late Thomas Sharp, of Coventry. He possessed that "infinite capacity for taking pains" which may or may not be essential to the genius, but which is beyond question essential to the scholar, and more especially to the student of ancient writings, the palæographer. Homer sometimes nods, but the true-born palæographer never; for him to nod means to *mis-read* a word, and possibly thereby mislead generations.

The result of Sharp's life-long labours among the Coventry records is to be seen in his works, the *Mystery Plays*,(2) an account of the ancient religious local drama, and in various monographs dealing with the buildings of the city.(3) Admirable as these works are, and copious as are the citations from local records which they contain, we must all regret that Sharp did not make fuller use of the material at

(1) A Calendar of the Books, Charters, &c., in the New Muniment Room at St. Mary's Hall, made for the Corporation of Coventry, by J. C. Jeaffreson, Coventry, 1896.

(2) Dissertation on the Pageants or Dramatic Mysteries anciently performed at Coventry. Coventry, 1825.

(3) Re-published in 1870, under the title *Antiquities of Coventry*, with a biography of the author, by W. Fretton.

his hand. An antiquarian pure and simple, he had no interest in social, municipal, or economic history, and no conceptions in the problems which are burning historical questions to-day. He loved old buildings, and he loved old plays; but other matters he put aside.

These omissions are all the more unfortunate because they cannot, in many cases, be made good by further research at the present day. Much of the material at Sharp's disposal is no longer accessible to us. It is lost to the world. There are—or I should say there were until 1879—two collections of Coventry manuscripts, both of which were studied by Sharp. One was a collection which this antiquarian himself had gathered together; the other consisted of documents which were never allowed to pass into private hands, but remained, and indeed remain to this day, in the keeping of the Corporation in St. Mary's Hall. But Sharp's large and valuable collection, purchased by a local *amateur*, Mr. Staunton, of Longbridge, and by him presented to the Birmingham Free Library, was wholly destroyed by the fire which broke out in that building in 1879. When printed books perish, we have the consolation of knowing that all save unique specimens can be replaced by purchase. But when manuscripts, that have never been copied or printed afford fuel to flames, no such comfort is vouchsafed to us. We suffer an irreparable loss.(1)

If it be a matter of regret that so much that was valuable has been lost to us, it is still a matter of congratulation that so much that is valuable has been preserved. Happily there still remain at Coventry hundreds of curious and interesting records, which throw light on many dark places of the history of the past. First and foremost of these, in point not of time but of value, is the *Leet Book*,(2) a specimen of manuscript that historians might well consider the most noteworthy compilation extant in Warwickshire. Bound in the original leather binding, worn by years, this stout volume numbers some 700 pages, some of which, however, are blank. The earliest regular entry made in the book belongs to the year 1421; the latest to 1555. The handwriting, generally though not always(3) contemporary with the entries the scribe records, naturally varies from time to time. One town clerk dies, another takes his place, and the character of the writing changes. On the whole, the penmanship of the Coventry scribes, who compiled the *Leet Book*, is fairly clear and good, though it is lacking in the artistic qualities of earlier times,(4) and the entries belonging to the sixteenth century show the rapid degeneration of the art of writing after the invention of printing.

The language employed in these records is for the most part English, with here and there an admixture of Latin and Norman French; sometimes—as the following phrase, "usque finem de le litel bochery, *i.e.*, Little Butcher Row—all

(1) Even the Catalogue perished. A bare list of the documents destroyed, made by Mr. Fretton, gives us some idea of the extreme interest and value of the collection.

(2) Corporation MSS. A. 3 (a). See Catalogue.

(3) The very earliest entries were undoubtedly re-copied some 50 years later.

(4) The 12th century was the golden age of the scribe's art.

three languages are used together in astonishing confusion. The Latin is Ciceronian neither in grammar nor vocabulary; it is the law Latin of the Middle Ages, and accounted barbarous by devotees of the classic style of ancient Rome.(1)

So much for the writing and language of the *Leet Book:* what is there in the information it contains to make this volume of such extraordinary value?

In the first place what do we mean by a Court Leet? Without entering into any elaborate explanations on the subject we may for practical purpose define a Court Leet as a manorial court of justice, where offenders were presented for trial. However, in the records of the Coventry court the judicial element is almost entirely overlooked. There is no record of a criminal trial to be found in its pages. This part of the business must have been enrolled elsewhere. But the court possessed not only judicial, but what we may call legislative, functions; and the commonest entry in the *Leet Book* takes the form of a regulation or by-law passed by the court. The court framed sanitary regulations, which I fear were not kept, if we may judge of the complaints made on all sides concerning the filth of the streets. It framed regulations for the carrying on of trade, for the building of houses, for the moral welfare of the citizens. Never was there a population so tied and fettered by rules, as the English urban community of the Middle Ages.

These by-laws afford us a good deal of information on the social state of the people. They tell us how the citizens traded, cheated, and prayed; what their amusements were; what clothes they wore, and how their houses were built. This, though a very interesting feature of the volume, is by no means unique. Many other town records reveal to us the picture of the life of our forefathers in equally clear colours. The *Liber Albus*(2) shows us the people of by-gone London in the shop, in the market-place, in the street. If there had been nothing more than these regulations entered in the Coventry *Leet Book* I should hardly have been justified in saying that from the historian's point of view it was the most noteworthy compilation extant in Warwickshire. The great feature of this admirable book is that it is to some extent a chronicle, a chronicle of many of the events worthy of mark that took place in the fifteenth century, inside and occasionally outside the city of Coventry. This fact immediately lifts the volume above the plane of local interest. It gives it a national character.

In what sense is the *Leet Book* a chronicle? Year by year the town clerk entered in its pages not only all ordinary municipal business, such as the election of the mayor and the corporation officials, the collection of royal loans, taxes, and the like, but also all extraordinary municipal business. Let us take some examples The mayor is called on to intervene in a strike or compose a quarrel. The whole matter is entered among the records of the Court Leet.(3) Or the King's "commission

(1) The only fac-simile of a page of the *Leet Book* ever re-produced is to be found in *Life in an Old English Town*, by the author of this paper. The specimen, however, is too small to be wholly satisfactory.

(2) Edited by Riley (Rolls Series).

(3) The articles of arbitration between the discontented weavers and their masters are entered in the Leet Book.

of array" required the mayor to furnish soldiers for the wars. The names of the men, their wages, even details of their equipment, are entered in the book.

It may be said, of course, that these are purely local events, and the men who took part in them obscure. To write of such things is merely to "chronicle small beer." There is nothing of national importance about a strike or a street fight. A chronicle should relate doings so remarkable that they belong to English history. Now for a short period the *Leet Book* does record such doings, or rather, we might say, with a very little pardonable exaggeration, that Coventry history becomes English history during the Wars of the Roses. Coventry was then the fourth city in the kingdom. It was continually a place of residence for the Court. It was called the "secret harbour" of Margaret of Anjou, for the Queen made it her centre of operations against the Yorkists. This is the reason that the full accounts we find in the Leet Book of the visits of Henry VI. and Margaret of Anjou to Coventry are of such great interest. The visits themselves were no mere formality; but were fraught with political import. It is between the years 1450 and 1460 that the town clerk's contribution to the city's history is so admirably clear and full. We read of the grand reception given to King Henry, of the gracious words he spoke to the citizens, of the new Charter he bestowed on them of his own free will, and of the state ceremonial attending the King's visit to St. Michael's Church on Michaelmas day. This is in 1451. Five years later, the Queen comes to Coventry. It is shortly after the birth of a Prince of Wales, and the Lancastrians are in a state of jubilation. Conduits run wine, music is played, allegorical characters address the Queen in verse. Everywhere there is rejoicing. Full details of all this civic pagentry, as well as allusions to mustering of troops, battles, treasons, councils, alternation of parties, and the like, crowd the pages of the *Leet Book*, and help us to realise the struggles and uncertainties of this unquiet time. Coventry history becomes English history(1)

I need scarcely dwell on the fact that information dealing with the fifteenth century is of especial value to the historian of this country, for this is the century in which our authorities are very few, and our annals barren. There were at that time no authors of any note. The monastic chroniclers, whose records are so invaluable for earlier periods, had ceased to write. Everywhere there is a dearth of historical material, save for the records kept by diligent town clerks. And as far as I am acquainted with the subject, nowhere during this time was this official so diligent as at Coventry. Other towns have far more to show in earlier periods than this city;(2) others again can show, on the whole, a more representative collection of documents than that which St. Mary's Hall contains. But nowhere is the account of fifteenth century events so full, so picturesque, so—as it were—in the centre of things, as the one we find in the pages of the *Leet Book* of Coventry.

(1) See the chapter on "The Red and White Rose," in *Life in an Old English Town.*

(2) Leicester has most valuable records of the 12th century. See *Records of the Borough of Leicester*, edited by Miss Bateson. Leicester, 1899.

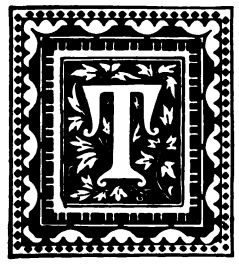
Next, perhaps, in order of interest to the *Leet Book* is the record of the *Guild of the Corpus Christi*,(1) an important association which partook of the character of a club, a social clique, an insurance society, and a charitable institution. The earliest entry of the receipts and expenses of this fraternity belongs to the year 1488. Yearly lists are given of the names of, and subscriptions paid by, the members of the Guild, which included not only Coventry citizens, but royal persons, nobles, merchants from all parts of England, and from several Irish cities, and farmers throughout the country side. Another treasure in St. Mary's Hall consists of two volumes of correspondence,(2) collected and arranged by Sharp. Here are to be found the autographs of many who have made a great stir in the world. Those of Margaret, Countess of Richmond, and Prince Henry, son of James I., are perhaps unique. Henry VIII., Wolsey, Cranmer, Sir Thomas White, Laud, Juxon, Chief Justice Coke, Fulke Greville, Endymion Porter, and Richard Baxter, have all left specimens of their handwriting in Coventry. There are many other documents which would amply reward investigation. It would be well if the Corporation of the city ordered the publication of records of such sterling historical value. They would earn the gratitude not only of the local historian, but of all students who care to add to their knowledge of their country's history.

(1) Corporation MSS. A. 6. (2) Corporation MSS. A. 79.

Excursions.

TO CHILVERS COTON AND ARBURY HALL.

June 10th, 1899.



THE places visited in this excursion, have, upon the whole, a literary rather than an archæological interest; the whole district having been made classical by the mingled imagination and veracity of George Eliot's pen. Thus Arbury Hall is of course much better known as Cheverel Manor, and Chilvers Coton as Shepperton, while thousands are familiar with "Milby," who know very little indeed of quiet unobtrusive Nuneaton.

At Arbury the party was courteously welcomed by Lady and Lieut.-Gen. Sir E. Newdegate. The Hall is by no means without interest; indeed it is very attractive, but there is little left of a date earlier than the 18th century, when Sir Roger Newdegate modernised the mansion which had arisen from the ruins of Arbury Priory. This Sir Roger is, of course, the Sir Christopher Cheverel of Geo. Eliot's novels, and is also well known as the founder of the Newdegate Prize at Oxford, which has been gained by Stanley, Ruskin, and Matthew Arnold. Mr. Wright Wilson, F.R.C.S., added to the enjoyment of the visit by giving a very interesting account of the building. Griff House was then visited, where George Eliot spent the first twenty-five years of her life; and afterwards the church of Chilvers Coton. After tea Nuneaton was reached, where some vestiges still remain of the Abbey of St. Mary, from whose inmates the town obtains its present name.

This excursion was largely attended.

TO LEICESTER AND BRADGATE PARK.

June 21st, 1899

At Leicester, a busy modern manufacturing town crowded with most interesting relics of the past, the first place visited was the Museum. Here every information

was given by Mr. Montague Browne, the Curator, to whose skill and care the Museum bears eloquent testimony, the order and arrangement of the contents being perfect. Some of the Roman remains are almost unique, and the whole collection forms an excellent introduction to the antiquities of a town which has probably never lacked a certain degree of importance since the beginning of the Christian Era.

No detailed account can here be given of all that was seen in Leicester, but mention must be made of the quaint almshouses, founded by Henry of Lancaster; of the Churches of St. Mary de Castro and of St. Nicholas, with their fine Norman details; and of the fragments of Roman masonry of dubious origin, known as the Jewry Wall. Carefully preserved underneath the Railway Station is a beautiful Roman mosaic pavement, which is retained *in situ*. The Church of St. Margaret is a very stately edifice, in some degree blemished by the incongruous designs of the stained glass windows.

After luncheon the visitors went by carriage to the ruins of the Abbey of Black Canons, where Wolsey died in 1530. These are eminently picturesque and very pleasant in their surroundings.

The drive was then continued to Bradgate Park, the home and possibly the birthplace of Lady Jane Grey, to which access was granted by the permission of the Countess of Stamford and Warrington. The park is extensive and beautiful. The remnants of the historic mansion are but of a shattered and fragmentary character, but of undying historic interest.

It is to be regretted that few members availed themselves of the opportunity of seeing one of the most interesting of English provincial towns. Perhaps the streets of a busy manufacturing town in the height of summer may not have seemed attractive, but in fact the excursion was most instructive and enjoyable.

TO HALESOWEN AND THE LEASOWES.

July 15th, 1899.

The charms of Halesowen cannot be said to have been improved by its prosperity; but the Church, the Abbey, and the Leasowes still combine to give it unusual interest. The Church is a singular and sombrely impressive building, the two bays at the east and west ends being of the 12th century, while the central portion is of the 15th. The pillars are rudely massive specimens of Norman

work. No one can help seeing, or regretting, the stupendous monument to Major Halliday, in comparison with which Shenstone's modest urn becomes agreeable indeed. The poet was buried in the churchyard.

Of the Abbey, or Priory of Premonstratensian Canons, little can now be seen. It was once of great extent, though so completely demolished that only a few vestiges of the buildings and some traces of the fish ponds survive its ruin. The Priory was founded in 1215, and owed its foundation in great measure to the munificence of King John, a circumstance too singular to be omitted in any notice.

The last place visited was the Leasowes, sacred always to the somewhat faint but classic memory of Shenstone. It is long since any one cared for the artificial graces which the poet so painstakingly affixed to the natural beauties of his domain. These were his pride, and these his punishment. By them he attracted pilgrims from all parts of Europe, to them he sacrificed his fortune, his comfort, and his peace of mind. They are nearly all gone now, and Nature has resumed her sway and decks the pretty little estate in her own fashion. It is probably more charming, and certainly more lasting, but we must not forget that if Shenstone did not love Nature too wisely, he loved her well, and taught others to love her when she was in a state of dire neglect.

The visitors were hospitably entertained to tea at the Leasowes, by Miss Anstey; and Mr. H. B. Andrews, F.R.I.B.A., carefully pointed out all objects of architectural interest seen during the excursion.

TO DORCHESTER (OXON.) AND EWELME.

July 25th, 1899.

The now extremely quiet village of Dorchester was for nearly 400 years the see of the Bishops of Mercia. The immensely long Abbey Church does not date so far back, but is still out of all proportion to its modern surroundings. The decoration is profuse and very interesting, especially as regards the window tracery. The Jesse window, in which the Stem of Jesse actually forms the tracery and is continued below the window to the ground, is a singularly bold and unique example. After luncheon at Shillingford the visitors drove to Ewelme, one of the quaintest mediæval villages in existence. Here the Church, School, and Almshouses form a group which, for interest and perfect preservation, can hardly be matched. The Church is throughout Perpendicular of one period, and remains practically uninjured and untouched. This is greatly due to the good sense and good feeling of Colonel Martin, who, although a

parliamentary officer, peremptorily forbade any desecration of the Church. The tomb of the Duchess of Suffolk, with its singular double effigy; and that of Sir Thomas Chaucer, with its wealth of heraldic decoration; are most interesting. There are also very fine brasses.

At Nuneham Courtenay, the seat of Aubrey Harcourt, Esq., the party was permitted to wander at pleasure through the fine park and gardens, and tea was taken in a summer house by the river side. In the park is the fine conduit in carved stone which once stood in Carfax, Oxford, presented to the city by Otho Nicholson in 1610, and discarded by the sapient authorities in the 18th century. It was mercifully preserved and re-erected here by the second Earl Harcourt, yet there is something painful in its safe exile.

A most pleasant day was closed by a drive to Oxford, which was reached in time to see and enjoy at least the outside beauties of the city.

Officers and Committee, 1899.

ELECTIVE.

J. A. COSSINS, *President.*
HOWARD S. PEARSON, *Honorary Secretary.*
WRIGHT WILSON, F.R.C.S., Edin., *Hon. Librarian.*
W. J. CHURCHILL, *Hon. Secretary for Excursions.*
F. B. ANDREWS.
REV. A. L. CHATTAWAY.
BENJAMIN WALKER.

EX-OFFICIO (Officers of the Institute).

HUME C. PINSENT, M.A.
T. STACEY WILSON, M.D., M.R.C.P., B.Sc. } *Vice-Presidents.*
G. S. MATHEWS, M.A., *Hon. Treasurer.*
COUNCILLOR R. F. MARTINEAU, *Hon. Secretary.*

Report of the Committee for the year 1899,

PRESENTED AT THE ANNUAL MEETING, JANUARY 24th, 1900.

The Committee are glad to be able to record another year of useful and satisfactory work. The meetings of the Society have been well attended, and the papers read and the excursions have all proved of great interest.

The following papers have been read :—

Jan. 24—(Annual Meeting) "Shenstone and the Leasowes." Mr. WILLIAM DOUBLEDAY.

Feb. 22—"Crick and Astley: Two Sister Churches." Mr. WALTER J. CHURCHILL.

March 22—"Architectural Remains in Warwickshire of earlier date than the end of the 12th century." Mr. J. A. COSSINS (President).

Nov. 15—"The Early Roads and Trackways of Warwickshire and Worcestershire." Professor WINDLE, M.A., M.D., F.R.S.

Dec. 13—"The MSS. Records of the City of Coventry." Miss M. DORMER HARRIS.

During the Summer the following Excursions have been made :—

June 10 (half-day)—To Arbury, Astley, and Chilvers Coton.

June 21 (whole-day)—To Leicester and Bradgate Park.

July 15 (half-day)—To Halesowen and The Leasowes.

July 26 (whole-day)—To Dorchester, Ewelme, and Nuneham Courtenay.

All the Excursions were excellently arranged, and the attendance was satisfactory.

The Committee desire again to express their grateful thanks for the uniform kindness with which the members have been received at all the places of interest visited.

Mr. Jethro A. Cossins has been unanimously elected President for the year, and the other officers have been re-elected.

The Society has had to deplore the loss of two old and valued members by the deaths of Mr. J. Thackray Bunce and Mr. Lawson Tait.

During the year the Society has added to its collection photographs of all old Birmingham buildings of interest which were likely to be destroyed. Several works of archæological value have been presented to it, and others have been purchased and added to the library so far as the funds would permit. The Society has also used its influence in favour of the preservation of the old Packhorse Bridge at Hampton-in-Arden; and it has gratefully to record the ready generosity of Sir John C. Holder, Bart., in entirely defraying the cost of the restoration of the unique Moat Gate-house at Nether Whitacre Hall, under the supervision of the President.

The Committee are glad to be able to report that provision has at length been found possible for the library and collections of the Society, by the adaptation of rooms in the basement, at times which will be duly announced. These rooms will be formally opened on the evening of the Annual Meeting, and will thenceforward be accessible to Members. The Society is deeply indebted to the Council of the Institute for their continued exertions to attain this end, and for the generous and willing assistance, pecuniary and otherwise, which they have lent to the accomplishment of this much-needed work. The Committee most earnestly trust that the advance thus made will lead to a large increase both in the usefulness and in the strength of the Society.

The Committee regret to report that there has been a small diminution in the number of Members, the Membership now standing at 183, as compared with 192 last year.

The Transactions for 1898 have been duly printed and handed to Members applying, in accordance with the rules, and they will, it is believed, be found to maintain the high standard of the issues of previous years.

It will be observed that there is a deficiency of £22 7s. 2d. on the General Account, due to the cost of furnishing the New Library.

Income and Expenditure Accounts and Balance Sheet

FOR THE YEAR ENDING 30TH DECEMBER, 1899.

General Account.

Dr.

1899		£	s.	d.
Dec. 30	To Audit Expenses	2	2	0
	„ Furniture	39	19	1
	„ Postages	10	18	6
	„ Printing	4	5	6
	„ Subscription - Society of Antiquaries	1	0	0
	„ Transactions	36	6	0
		£94	11	1

Cr.

1899		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Jan. 1.—	By Balance brought forward ...				16	4	11
Dec. 30	„ Excursions, surplus on ...	3	4	0			
	„ Subscriptions ... 54 1 0						
	„ Less amount received for 1900 5 16 0						
		48	5	0			
	„ Transactions, sale of ...	4	10	0			
					55	19	0
					72	3	11
	„ Deficiency carried forward				22	7	2
					£94	11	1

Copying Fund.

1899.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Dec. 30.—	To Illustrations to Transactions	11	4	0			
	„ Reprints, Photographs, &c.	9	3	6			
					20	7	6
	„ Balance carried forward				*55	16	5
					£76	3	11

1899.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Jan. 1	By balance brought forward ...				50	12	5
Dec. 30.—	„ Interest on Deposit Account	1	4	6			
	„ Subscriptions	24	7	0			
					25	11	6
					£76	3	11

Balance Sheet.

1899.		£	s.	d
Dec. 30.—	To Amount due to Lloyds Bank on General Account	16	11	2
	„ Subscriptions received for 1900 ...	5	16	0
	„ Balance on Copying Fund	55	16	5
		£78	3	7

1899.		£	s.	d.
Dec. 30.—	By Deficiency on General Account ...	22	7	2
	„ Amount in hands of Lloyds Bank :— Deposit Account	55	16	5
		£78	3	7

Examined and found correct,

(Signed) C. A. HARRISON, BARRATT, WEST, & Co.,

10th January, 1900. *Chartered Accountants.*

* Part of this amount will be required to defray the cost of the Transactions for the year 1899 due to Members.

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